



THE BLAIRS PAPERS



COLLEG. SCOTOR. IN.
ACAD. PARIS.

BOOK-PLATE OF THE SCOTS COLLEGE, PARIS.

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LeBlanc*

THE BLAIRS PAPERS

(1603-1660)

BY

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PUBLISHED BY

SANDS & CO.: LONDON AND EDINBURGH

1929

6992

THE BLIND FOLD

PREFACE

THE BLIND FOLD is a story of the life of a man who has been blind since birth. It is a story of the struggles of a man who has to learn to see the world through his other senses. It is a story of the triumph of the human spirit over the limitations of the body. It is a story of the power of love and the strength of faith. It is a story of the journey of a man who has found his way through the darkness to the light.

PREFACE

EVERY one who is interested in the history of Scotland during the Cromwellian period knows that although many Diaries and contemporary records of various kinds have been published, there exists in print no account of events between the execution of Charles I in 1649 and the Restoration in 1660, written from the contemporary Catholic point of view. This lacuna in Scottish history is filled by *The Blairs Papers*.

Among the hitherto unpublished documents at Blairs College there is a large collection of letters, written by Scottish Jesuit Fathers in the middle of the seventeenth century, which treat not only of private affairs but also of the great political and military business of the time, and provide contemporary comment on events in which Montrose, Charles II, and Cromwell are the leading figures.

These Scottish Jesuits are little known, even by name, to Scotsmen of the present day; in *The Blairs Papers* they come to life again, with their virtues and defects, with their likes and dislikes; they are real men of Scotland, not phantoms from a hagiographical romance.

When our Catholic forefathers were driven from Scotland where did they go? What did they do? How did they live? And what manner of men were they? These are questions to which answers will be found in *The Blairs Papers*. Here also is given for the first time some account of the interior history of the Scots Colleges at Paris, Douai, Madrid, and Rome, with details of everyday life which enable the boys, their parents, and their teachers to come very distinctly into the picture. In the last three chapters the story is told of the reorganization of the Secular clergy in Scotland one hundred years after the Reformation, a story of courageous struggle against cunningly-devised persecution.

This book has been constructed almost entirely out of unpublished documents. Consequently, many personages now appear for the first time on the historical stage. Some of them have been undeservedly forgotten, and the history of Scotland is enriched by their release from oblivion; others, not in the front rank during their lifetime, have, nevertheless,

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left tracks among the great which are interesting to trace. For even the humblest individuals, provided they are real and not merely shadows, can enliven the historian's page. No resurrection is ever wholly without interest.

The collection of historical documents at Blairs College belongs to the Catholic Hierarchy of Scotland. Permission to utilize this important source of practically untapped history is a great privilege, a great honour, and involves a great responsibility. To the Catholic Bishops of Scotland, therefore, I owe my first debt of gratitude.

No one can set to the task of writing history without borrowing from the living and incurring a filial obligation to the dead. First of all there is that famous Scottish historian, Thomas Innes, and his brother Louis, who tended with scholarly care the valuable archives of the Scots College, Paris; there is Abbé Paul Macpherson who saved some fragments of those archives from the brigands of the French Revolution and brought them safely home to Scotland; there is Bishop Kyle, to be named as one amongst many, who worked among these documents putting them into order and safe keeping. The muniment-room at Blairs College contains a large number of manuscript histories, historical note-books, and similar evidences of the great interest which successive generations of priests have taken in the history of their predecessors. Of all these workers the most capable and the most industrious within recent times was Canon William Clapperton, who has left a considerable quantity of notes, not always in a form suitable for publication but nearly always of great value to a student of history.

I am indebted to Mgr. Hugh Cameron for the loan of his large collection of photographs of documents relating to Scottish history in the Archives of the Congregation of Propaganda. And finally, omitting the names of many patient friends who have given me willing help, I must confess that without the co-operation of his Lordship Bishop George Bennett, of Aberdeen, who has assisted me in reading and copying the manuscripts, this book might never have been finished.

M. V. HAY.

SEATON,
ABERDEEN.

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INTRODUCTION

The Archives of the Scots College, Paris ; Documents saved at the Reformation by Archbishop James Beaton—Correspondence between Glasgow University and the Scots College, Paris, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—The French Revolution—Only a remnant of the Archives escaped destruction—Documents rescued from the French soldiers at the Scots College, Rome, in 1798—A collection of 30,000 letters ; the correspondence of the Scottish Jesuit Fathers.

THE muniment room and library at Blairs College, Aberdeen, contain nearly all that is left of the archives which had accumulated during two hundred years, from the Scottish Reformation to the French Revolution, in the Scots College at Paris. The foundation of this collection was laid by James Beaton (1515-1603), Archbishop of Glasgow, who carried away with him into exile his diocesan records and such other ancient documents as he had time to rescue from the zeal of the Reformers. He bequeathed them at his death to the Scots College, Paris, along with his personal papers, which included his correspondence, while acting as Ambassador to the French Court, with Queen Mary and her son. The collection was enriched from various sources during the seventeenth century, the most important addition being the memoirs of James II.¹

For nearly a hundred years after the death of James Beaton the documents saved from the bonfires of Glasgow remained, as far as Scotland was concerned, neglected and forgotten. The first sign from Scotland of interest in their

¹ "The tradition is that this Prince, like Louis XIV, occupied himself much with writing accounts of the remarkable events of his life ; and that at the critical moment, when he determined to leave London, he found means of saving his papers. He flung them, it is said, into a box, which he entrusted to the Tuscan Ambassador ; the latter first sent them to Leghorn, but, after the expelled King had taken up his abode at S. Germain, they were sent back to him at that place. Here he added some further notes upon later events, and then deposited them in the Scottish College at Paris" (Ranke, *History of England in the Seventeenth Century*, IV, p. 30, Oxford, 1875).

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fate occurs in some correspondence, hitherto unrecorded, which took place towards the end of the reign of James II between John Paterson, Episcopalian Archbishop of Glasgow, and Louis Innes, Principal of the College in Paris, on the subject of the archives :—

The Archbishop of Glasgow to Mr Louis Innes, Edinburgh,
November 26th, 1687.

“ REVEREND SIR,

“ Since you was pleased so kyndlie to grant my desires for having transcripts attested in due form of law, of ye papers in your Collidge at Paris wherin ye Archbishoprick and Universitie of Glasgow are concerned, I presume to mynd you of your kind promise. All I can say to encourage you to a frank performance is, that I sal be careful to make the best use of these transumptis for promoting the interests of that Metropolitick See, and of that Universitie, the charge and expenses shal be cheerfullie payed at your order and direction. I was sorie to miss ye good fortune of waiting on you at your return from Murray, as I was glad your affairs prospered so wele in it, if in anie thing in this countrey I can serve you or your interest you sall freeilie command ye best endeavor of R. Sir yr most affectionat brother and servant.

“ JO. GLASGOW.”¹

The friendly negotiations to which this letter bears witness were terminated by the Revolution. King James abdicated in 1688, and the Episcopal Church in Scotland was disestablished the following year.

About thirty years later, in 1717, a Scotsman travelling on the Continent visited the Scots College, Paris, and wrote on the 23rd September, to a friend of his in Edinburgh, a letter which contains a description of the MSS. then in the College :—

“ I was yesterday for four or five hours closed in the Scots College in this place together with a very learned antiquary

¹ That the correspondence between the Archbishop and Mr Innes was regarded with suspicion by the King's enemies is evident from a letter with the heading, “ Notes of an informer,” which has been printed (with the mistaken date 1649), in the *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, for that year, p. 517. “ It is allowed by Mr Innes, Principal of the Scots College at Paris . . . that Bishop Paterson of Glasgow gives them daily information from Scotland.”

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and keeper of the Records and Library. Understanding that I was remitted to my study of the law, he produced all their old writts on the table."

Probably many other Scots abroad visited the College about this time and were shown the treasures the writer of the letter proceeds to describe, including :—

"an old chartour granted by Robert II, . . . a currency of chartours from Alexander, Malcolm Canmore's son, to the end of Robert Bruce's reign. . . . I think they are 13 or 14 in number . . . a very great collection of original Letters writt by Queen Mary, with her testament writt the day before she was murdered. . . . I saw one from Loch Leven, when she was prisoner which made myself tear in reading. There is a collection of original letters and writs from 1568 to 1580, of thirteen volumes in folio, very necessary for a history . . . and severalls in King Charles time. Next I saw a collection of letters, Journals, and many other papers in four volumes in folio, finely bound, all writt by the late King James . . . there was a large book shoven next, writt extremely fine, with various colours on parchment and many figures, as the seasons of every month and country affaires in every month in the calendar. It has belonged to some Religious House of those days, with abundance of legends, and other ridiculous fables. It bears itself writt in 1431; but it is so very fine I cannot but suspect it" (Lord Herries, *Memoirs*, Preface p. xxi).

After one hundred and fifty years the ardour of anti-papal Scotland had sufficiently cooled to permit official recognition to be made of the existence of those national records which had been saved from destruction by the faithful Canons of Glasgow Cathedral and taken to France by Archbishop James Beaton. The authorities of Glasgow University wrote in 1738 to the Principal of the Scots College, Paris, asking for information about the long-exiled documents. This letter, an olive branch sent out from the Ark of the Covenant, must have been difficult to write :—

From the University of Glasgow to the Superiors of the
Scots College, Paris, May 1st, 1738.

"REVEREND GENTLEMEN,

"It is matter of no small regret to us of this university that we have been so long without any correspondence with

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our countrymen of your college in Paris. With great pleasure we lately found by your correspondent, the reverend Mr Alexander Drummond, that you still retain an affectionate regard to this country and this university; upon which we joyfully embraced this opportunity of saluting you all in the most affectionate manner, and of requesting the favour of a correspondence with you about anything which may relate to the history and antiquities of our country. In particular, we request that you may deliver either to the bearer hereof, Mr Robert Foulis, or send by any safe conveyance to the reverend Mr Alexander Drummond, at Drummond Castle, in Perthshire, that copy of a charter of King Robert II, confirming the legitimacy of our royal family, which is mentioned in Mabillon¹ as intended for this university; and that you may allow us, at our own charge,² to obtain a notarial copy of the chartulary of Glasgow. You would further oblige us exceedingly by informing us of any other original papers of consequence as to the history of this country, diocese or university, which we could have access to, to take notarial copies at our own charges; and we shall always [be] fond of expressing our gratitude to your college for these favours, and of making any return in our power.”³

An official reply to the above letter was sent by the College in October of the same year, stating that the communication from the University

“... was more agreeable and welcome to us, that it put an end, as we hope, to the long interruption of all correspondence betwixt us, during about one hundred and eighty years, occasioned by the violent alterations made by factious men in the church and university of Glasgow, which in former ages had so much contributed to the honour of that city.”

A few weeks before the dispatch of this reply a long letter had been sent to Glasgow by the veteran historian Thomas Innes, who was then Vice-Principal of the Scots College, Paris,

¹ Appendix to *De Re Diplomatica*.

² The Sederunt Book of the University of Glasgow, 12th December, 1738, gives a list of ten copies of documents, “all which the Gentlemen of the Scots College caused transcribe at their own expenses, having refused to allow the University to pay the same” (Preface to the *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, Vol. I, p. v).

³ *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, II, p. 367, Aberdeen, 1842.

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and had devoted his life to the care of its archives and the study of Scottish history. He was at the time over seventy years of age. His letter shows how deeply moved he was by the message from Glasgow, which he regarded as a sign that the tempest had really passed, and the long period of exile was coming to an end. With regard to the request for a copy of the Charter of Robert II, Innes informed the University authorities that a copy had been drawn up long ago for their intention, and

“ . . . carefully kept these forty-four years bygone¹ waiting for a favourable opportunity to present it to the university, which, by reason of the aversion, as we were told, of the leading men of that city to all of our communion and character, we never could meet with till of late. . . . Being now of a very advanced age, it is no small satisfaction to me, before I die, to learn that the aversion to those of this house, and of our community is wearing away, at least among the more learned and more polite inhabitants of that metropolis. And this is no small encouragement to me, notwithstanding my infirmities, to give you a short account of the records of Glasgow, of the care taken to preserve, and of the use that hath been made of them since they came into our hands.”

Fortunately for the peace of his declining years, Thomas Innes could not foresee what was to be the fate of nearly all these precious manuscripts. The Statutes of the Scots College do indeed show that the authorities realised the sentimental and historical value of the documents committed to their charge ; security was ensured by stringent regulations ; the archives were kept in a room with double doors, the first door provided with two separate locks, one key being kept by the Principal, the other by the Procurator ; and no document of national importance was allowed out of the building.² But by an unfortunate chance Alexander Gordon, Principal of the College at the time of the French Revolution, was a man who, incompetent in peace, proved himself unable to cope with the emergencies of war. Under his rule, and largely owing to his incapacity

¹ The reference seems to be to documents copied for Archbishop Paterson.

² “Nemini foras extra collegium commodetur quævis charta, liber, aut instrumentum felicitis memoriæ Mariæ Scotiæ Reginæ aut Jacobi Archiepiscopi Glasguensis, nec quodvis instrumentum eorum quæ olim ad Glasguensem Ecclesiam pertinebant.” *Statuta Collegii Parisiensis*, Caput. xi., De Archivo Collegii.

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and indecision, the library and archives of the College were almost entirely destroyed.

The story of this destruction is an irritating record of fumbling mismanagement. More than once the collection failed, by a narrow margin, to achieve security. In 1790 Principal Gordon was negotiating for the sale of some of the documents to the British Museum, an excellent plan, no doubt, but one which he attempted to carry through without the consent or knowledge of the Catholic Bishops of Scotland, to whom the property belonged. The only printed reference to such a proposal is to be found in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* for 1st November, 1790 :—

“The Curious Manuscripts in the possession of the Scots College, Paris, will be a most valuable and interesting addition to the treasures of the British Museum.”

The negotiations, being unauthorised by the owners of the manuscripts, had to be broken off and the documents remained in Paris. When the British Ambassador left France on the eve of the Revolution, he offered to carry them into England. For some unexplained reason Father Gordon refused the offer.¹

From an account of these events written by Bishop Hay, entitled *A Memorandum concerning the Scots Colleges in Paris and Douai* (Blairs MS. Collection), it is clear that most of the blame for the failure to save the archives rests upon Alexander Gordon. On the eve of the outbreak of the Revolution, a conference was held in the Prior's room at the Scots College, not to make plans for the safety of the property, but to try and settle intestine quarrels for which the Principal was mainly responsible. In September, 1792, Principal Gordon fled to England, leaving the College in charge of Mr Alexander Innes, a great-grand-nephew of Thomas Innes, whose courage and devotion to duty cannot be too highly praised. An account of the final tragedy, as told by Mr Innes to Bishop Cameron, of Edinburgh, was printed in the *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1808 :—

“About the same time Mr Stapleton, then president of the English College of S. Omer, afterwards Bishop in England, went to Paris previous to his retiring from France; and Mr Innes, who had resolved not to abandon his post, consulted

¹ *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1808.

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with him about the means of preserving the manuscripts. Mr Stapleton thought if he had them at S. Omer, he could with small risk convey them to England. It was therefore resolved that they should be carefully packed up, addressed to a Frenchman, a confidential friend of Mr Stapleton, and remitted by some public carriage. Some other things were put up with the manuscripts. The whole arrived without any accident and was laid in a cellar. But the patriotism of the Frenchman becoming suspicious, perhaps on account of his connection with the English College, he was put in prison, and his wife, apprehensive of the consequences of being found to have English manuscripts richly bound and ornamented with the royal arms in her house, cut off the boards and destroyed them. The Manuscripts, thus disfigured, and more easily huddled up in a sort of bundle, were secretly carried, with papers belonging to the Frenchman himself, to his country house, and buried in the garden. They were not however permitted to remain there long. The lady's fears increased, and the Manuscripts were taken up and reduced to ashes."¹

The documents thus destroyed were a most valuable, but fortunately only a small portion of the College archives. What happened to those left at Paris is told in a letter, signed "C.F.S.M.," which was published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of October, 1798 :—

"After about six weeks' confinement at the Luxemburg, we were all separated; I and a few other Englishmen were transferred to the Scottish College . . . it was decreed

¹ About thirty years after the destruction wrought by the panic-stricken Frenchwoman at S. Omer, an impostor named Robert Watson came to Rome and informed the Abbé Macpherson that the documents in question had not really been burnt, and that they could be recovered on payment of £50. "The Abbé wrote to Lord Stuart de Rothsay then in Paris, who saw Watson, paid him the money, and did obtain some papers" (*Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, p. lx). The papers handled by Watson did not, however, originate from the Scots College at Paris; they had belonged to Cardinal York, from whose confidential agent in Rome he had purchased them for a small sum. These documents, amounting to several cart-loads, were seized by the order of Cardinal Consalvi and ultimately presented by Pope Pius VII to King George IV. The collection, now known as the Stuart Papers, is printed in *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 15th Report, Vols. I, II, III, 1902-07.

"On Tuesday, 20th November, an inquest was held . . . on Mr Robert Watson, aged 88, who had strangled himself the preceding morning when in bed, by twisting his neckcloth with a poker" (*The Times*, 22nd and 23rd November 1838; quoted in footnote to Preface of *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, p. x).

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during our abode at the Scotch College, that the books in the library should be disposed of. The Goths, who had the superintendence of this business, knew so little of their value, that the most valuable MSS. were sold by the quintal, or burnt. Many of the prisoners pilfered (if I may use the expression) in the wreck. Mr Hartman Hartenberg found a box containing several papers, in each of which was a lock of the hair of one of the Scotch royal family; there was one of each of the Stuarts, with a small Latin inscription indicating to whom it belonged. Amongst other things, of no note or value, I found all the correspondence of the unfortunate James, and of the rest of his family, with the keys of the ciphers used by them and their correspondents in England."

After the Parisian Goths had wrought such destruction as would yield a little ready-money, they must have left a considerable quantity of books and papers undisturbed. During the space of nearly two hundred years which had elapsed since James Beaton came from Glasgow, an enormous mass of letters and documents had been stored in the College. The letter published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* says that the manuscripts were sold by the quintal; but such sales were going on all over Paris, and the market for waste paper would not be very brisk. The revolutionaries probably ransacked a few cupboards looking for silver-plate, held an auction of such "rubbish" as they found, left the bulk of the books and papers untouched and went on to more lucrative plunder elsewhere. Although there is no reason to distrust the account given in the above letter, it is probable that it refers to such an unofficial and superficial inquisition as would be carried out by a band of uncontrolled ruffians during a revolution. A story which gives some idea of the number and value of the historical documents which still remained at the Scots College after the visit of the "Goths" has not, as far as I am aware, yet appeared in print. It is written in a small copy-book, now at Blairs College, in the handwriting of John Farquharson, last President of the Scots College, Douai, with the title *Short Narrative of the Scotch Establishment in Paris*, and is dated 1816:—

"Of all College losses, that of its valuable papers and MSS. is most severely felt, seems of an irreparable nature, and stands thus recorded by Mr Innes when a

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prisoner under his own roof, in virtue of the direful edict of the 9th October '93."

(Here the MS. continues in rather dubious French, of which I give a free translation):—

"At the time of the seizure, Citizen Deperthes, Commissary of the Department, accompanied by two Municipal Officers, removed all the papers, etc., divided into two lots; the first: MS. charters of Archbishop Beaton, saved from the widespread destruction in Scotland, in 17 large folio volumes, bound in yellow or greenish calf, containing the series of Glasgow Charters from the eleventh to the sixteenth century; a precious, unique and immensely interesting deposit; the second: papers concerning the Stuarts, or correspondence with their agents, in five or six chests, one of them in oak three feet (long) by eight inches width and depth; the others about two feet square. In vain was protest made to have them numbered and labelled, and put in custody of the authorities until some resolution be taken as to the future; in vain the National Interpreter spoke of their importance; the whole collection was taken away in several carriages, and in 24 boxes or small coffers (cassettes) of which were returned only a few modern MSS., plates and engravings, some letters and rare books, preserved by the zeal and care of Citizen Raigeon. Yet it cannot be presumed from the report of the Interpreter Voigt that they were destroyed, or thrown away. It is indeed probable that they are still at the Bureau des Archives du Domaine, as a consequence of enquiries made by the Minister of the Interior.

"The holograph MSS. of King James the 2nd, of five volumes, were previously lost at S. Omer on their way to Britain, intrusted by Mr Stapleton to his confidential friend Monsr. Dourlens, and by him at Mr Stapleton's desire to Monsr. Carpentier; this last sent them to his country house, and his wife, hearing of his imprisonment, in a panic made a bonfire of them that very evening. According to Dourlens and Mr Macpherson's letters 8th May '98, and 8th August 1802. Notwithstanding which surmises have been afloat of their being preserved, if grounded, time will disclose. . . ."

This account of the confiscation by the Franch Government of a portion of the archives belonging to the Scots College is confirmed by documents in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, which

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have been utilised by M. Daumet in *Notices sur les Établissements Religieux anglais, écossais, irlandais, etc.*¹ But in some important details the evidence is conflicting. A receipt signed by Alexander Innes in 1796, when the books, etc., were returned, shows that some sort of inventory had been made when the property was confiscated. M. Daumet observes that "the evidence shows that the precious books and manuscripts removed from the College . . . were restored intact to the administrator by the French Government," but it would be more accurate to say that the Government restored intact the books and MSS. contained in the inventory signed by Alexander Innes. It is probable on *a priori* grounds and suggested by the evidence of Mr Farquharson, that this inventory did not contain a complete list of all the effects that were removed from the College. The official list contains only fifty items, whereas Mr Farquharson writes of "several carriage loads"; and of the seventeen volumes of *Chartularies*, only two were recovered.²

M. Daumet concludes his account of these transactions by asking what happened to the manuscripts restored to Mr Innes. Did he confide them to the Abbé Macpherson? And, if so, what became of them? These are questions, he says, which have remained up to the present time without an answer.

The restoration to Scotland of what was left of the archives of the Scots College after the French Revolution was accomplished by Abbé Paul Macpherson. In a history of the Blairs Papers, and the history of the Catholic Church in Scotland during the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, Paul Macpherson plays a leading part. Born in 1756, at Scalan, he went to the Scots College, Rome, in 1770. He acted for many years as Agent in Rome for the English and Scottish Missions. He was appointed Rector of the Scots College, Rome, in 1835, and died there in 1846.³

When he visited Paris after the Revolution he found that the Scots College, although despoiled of its most valuable treasures, still possessed a considerable quantity of manuscripts,

¹ *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris*, tome xxxix, pp. 66, 67, Paris, 1912.

² In a letter from Paris, dated 11th September, 1771, to the Curators of the Advocates' Library, Principal John Gordon gives a short description of the MSS. in the Scots College, and he mentions only two volumes of charters belonging to Glasgow (Herries, *Memoirs*, p. xliii).

³ Abbé Macpherson has left a number of works and notes on Scottish Church History. None of his writings have been printed, but they have been made use of by many subsequent historians.

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which he was fortunately able to restore to Scotland, where henceforth they could be housed in security. The story of the home-coming of the archives, after two hundred years of exile, is related by Mr Dennistoun of Dennistoun, a worthy Scot, who spent his leisure travelling on the Continent in search of materials for Scottish history:—

Note in handwriting of Dennistoun of Dennistoun, concerning the papers at the Scots College, Paris. (Dennistoun MS., National Library, Edinburgh.)

“When at Rome in 1838 I had several conversations with Abbé Paul Macpherson, Rector of the Scots College there, regarding the papers of the Scottish College of Paris. He was then about 82 years of age, but vigorous in body and mind; and the following is the substance of what he told me on that subject:

“Abbé Macpherson visited Paris in 1798 on his way from Rome, and obtained from the French Government a passport to return to England. Before setting out he visited Abbé Alexander Innes, the only person connected with the Scots College, who was then in Paris, and learned from him these particulars.

“After the escape of Principal Gordon (in Sept. 1792) Abbé Innes was imprisoned and with him the English nuns. They had been ordered for execution and overheard during the night some workmen comment on the cruelty of their fate, as they dug a pit within the prison for their bodies, but when the morning arrived it was Robespierre's turn to mount the scaffold, and his victims were saved. This Innes told Abbé Macpherson that when the ministers of the College fled, they packed up whatever seemed valuable in barrels including many of the MSS., and forwarded them to a confidential agent at S. Omer for safe custody. A quantity of papers however was left at the College, including many of those carried from Scotland by Archbishop Beaton, and were shown to the Abbé by Innes, who advised him to carry what he thought important to Scotland. Macpherson therefore selected the *Chartulary of Glasgow* in 2 volumes, the transcript by Louis Innes of *James II Memoirs*, a few of Beaton's papers and some regarding the Romish Church in Britain. These MSS. filling a box about 3 feet by 2 he carried to Scotland, and having deposited them with Bishop Cameron of Edinburgh, he proceeded to Huntly where he was stationed. Principal Gordon then resided at Traquair, having heard of the arrival

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of the papers, he wrote to the Abbé Macpherson to claim them as the property of the College. The Abbé referred him to the Bishop who refused to give them up ; and eventually transferred the custody of them before his death to Bishop Kyle in Aberdeenshire. While passing through London with his charge the Abbé showed the papers to George Chalmers, and lent some of them to him on his receipt ; a portion of them were lent by Chalmers to Mr Thomas Thompson, Deputy Clerk Register. Others were lost while in charge of Bishop Cameron.¹ Many books and documents remained in the College at Paris after the Abbé had selected his box full in 1798, and were under the Abbé Innes' charge. After his death the building was for some time used as a school, and subsequently Dr Walsh, head of the Irish College there, had influence with Napoleon's government to effect a union of the English and Scottish Colleges with the Irish one, to which these documents and books were subsequently removed, and where the Abbé saw them in 1812. . . ."

The relics of the Scots College archives committed to the care of Bishop Kyle remained for several years at Preshome, in Banffshire, and about the year 1870 were removed to Blairs, an estate on the banks of the Dee, five miles from Aberdeen, bequeathed to the Church by Mr Menzies of Pitfoddels, where the seminary, now known as St Mary's College, Blairs, was opened in 1829. In 1837 Bishop Gillis added to the collection after successful negotiations with the French Government "for the restoration of what remained of the library of the Scots College, Paris, which he ultimately succeeded in transferring to the seminary at Blairs."² Thus the work of restoration, begun by Paul Macpherson, was completed, and, after an exile of over two hundred and fifty years, a remnant

¹ Cosmo Innes, in the Preface to the Ballantyne Club edition (1843) of the *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, states that among the papers lost by Bishop Cameron were "several volumes of the later records of the Church of Glasgow . . ." (p. ix). The only documents "lost" were two manuscript volumes, lent to Mr George Chalmers. (There is a letter, printed in *Scotichronicon*, page 408, signed by Chalmers, acknowledging receipt of four volumes, only two of which were returned.) The papers were handed over to Bishop Kyle in "the utmost confusion : those of all dates and subjects being mixed together" (Letter quoted in Preface to *Miscellaneous Papers*, Maitland Club, Glasgow, 1834, p. xiii). The Bishop proved himself an expert archivist, a worthy successor to Thomas Innes.

² *Bellesheim*, IV, p. 287.

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of the archives saved by James Beaton became once again the nucleus of a library safely housed under a Scottish roof.

In addition to the documents which came from Paris, there are at Blairs a considerable number of manuscripts which originally belonged to the archives of the Scots College, Rome. Many of these were unfortunately lost at the end of the eighteenth century. The Abbé Macpherson says that in 1798, "when the French overturned the Roman Government . . . he had not above the space of three hours to examine and pick out the MSS. of most importance before the French sealed up the whole."¹

When the documents now at Blairs were still at Preshome, they were inspected by a representative of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, who in 1869 made an inventory of the most important papers, which was published in the first Report (p. 120).

The fifth item on the list is thus described :—

"An immense collection of letters and papers connected with the ecclesiastical history of Scotland (chiefly of the Northern District), from about 1597 to a comparatively modern period. Bishop Kyle computed the number of these at about 30,000, but I was informed that this falls far short of the real extent of the collection."

This collection, arranged in chronological order, is stored in the muniment room at Blairs College in a large cupboard containing several hundred pigeon-holes. The documents are for the most part in a good state of preservation; the ink is fresh, and the paper of excellent quality. In many cases, however, where the paper is folded, the writing has become almost illegible and the paper itself torn or much weakened.

A sudden introduction to such a large number of unpublished documents creates a difficult problem. To read and copy even 30,000 letters would take at least ten years. It would, of course, be easier to make a compendium of extracts and leave the constructive historical work to other hands and heads. But an examination of the earlier letters showed that it was necessary, if they were to be made intelligible, to publish them with a commentary. I decided, therefore, to begin at the beginning, to make myself familiar with the contents of the first few packets, to print the most interesting extracts, and endeavour at the same time to connect them together, and give them some historical shape. When a book

¹ MS., *History of the Scots College*.

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is written in this manner, such form as it ultimately takes is that imposed by the material.

Beginning, therefore, with the first five pigeon-holes, I found that they contained about five hundred documents, dating from 1603-59. From 1603-49 there are forty-six items, which are not as a rule consecutive. Some extracts from them have been used for the early history of the Scots College at Paris. The papers from 1649-59 consist chiefly of the correspondence of the Rectors of the Scots Colleges at Rome, Douai, Madrid, and the Jesuit College in Paris. This includes letters from students, parents, Scottish secular priests, and from various laymen, some of them people of no political importance, but most of them conveying something of a life now long forgotten. The correspondence was frequent, in many cases weekly, few of the letters are missing, and it should be possible to make of them a connected story.

The earlier letters are written by Father Christie¹ and Father Gall,² two Jesuits who were in charge at Douai and Paris, addressed to Father Andrew Leslie,³ Rector of the Scots College, Rome, and to his successors in that office.

Father Gall appears in English history as the author of an intercepted letter (published in Thurloe's *State Papers*, Vol. I, pp. 536-539), addressed to the General of the Jesuits, dated from Scotland, 23rd October, 1653. In this letter he states that the Jesuits were the only priests on the Scottish Mission, an assertion which was not correct. The letters at Blairs, however, show that he was on the whole a reliable correspondent; his style is vigorous, clear, and original; his industry in collecting and reporting news from the Scottish front, his sane outlook, and his usually correct forecast of

¹ William Christie, born in 1584 (?), a student at the Scots College, Douai, in 1612, became a Jesuit in Austria in 1616. He lived in Scotland for about twenty years, where he acted as chaplain to the Marquis of Huntly, at whose death he was present in 1636. He left Scotland in 1642, from 1644-46 was Rector at Rome, went to the Jesuit House in Paris, and in 1650 succeeded Father Gall as head of the Scots College, Douai. He died there in 1665.

² The Douai Diary shows that Robert Gall was a student there in 1620, and was received into the Society at Tours in 1625. He was in charge of the College at Douai from 1644-50, when he replaced Father Christie at the Jesuit House in Paris, and afterwards returned to Scotland in 1653. The date of his death, which occurred at Edinburgh, is not known. Father Gall belonged to the family of the Galls of Maw, in Fifeshire. The name is written "Gaw" in the *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, Index, p. ix.

³ Father Andrew Leslie was Rector of the Scots College, Rome, from June, 1649 to May, 1652. He had worked for sixteen years on the mission in Scotland, where he had been imprisoned by the Covenanters, and exiled.

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military and political enterprises, make his letters as interesting to-day as they must have been when they were read at Rome nearly three hundred years ago.

Father Gall collected his war news chiefly from letters received from the Jesuit missionaries in Scotland, and from friends and sympathisers in that country; and from the English parliamentary newspapers. A large collection of these news-sheets is now in the library at Blairs College. The most trustworthy paper in the middle of the seventeenth century was the *Briefve Relation*, first published in October, 1649. It was the official organ of the Council of State, and remained so until it was superseded by the *Mercurius Politicus*. Nearly all the newspapers were organs of political propaganda and very unreliable; they were provided with foreign news by spies who generally sent such reports as their employers wished to receive. Father Christie wrote on 23rd June, 1654, that in London "they doe obscure much that is not for them," and the following month he says "al is from London as they forge for themselves."

The Jesuit Fathers depended for foreign news almost entirely upon letters, and the duty of writing regularly was regarded as very important. The expense of paper and postage was heavy. Letters from Scotland to Rome, when they could not go by sea, as was often the case owing to hostile fleets, had to pay dues three times—at Edinburgh, London, and Paris. Owing to the cost of paper most of the correspondence is written in very small script, and every inch of space is utilised. Even the sealing-wax had to be economised.¹

The postal organisation must have worked efficiently in spite of plague, wars, and highway robbers, for I find few complaints of the non-arrival of letters. The time taken from Paris to Rome was about three weeks, and from Douai about a month. The Scottish Jesuit Fathers at Douai and Paris wrote regularly every week to the Rector of the Scots College, Rome. These letters deal chiefly with the conduct of college business, the shortage of money and the difficulty of getting suitable students, but they nearly always include a paragraph of news from Scotland, so that they reflect the opinions of the missionaries upon the general state of that country. The letters of Father Gall and Father Christie confirm what is already known from contemporary sources of

¹ An enclosure in a letter having been mislaid, and found again, the explanation given was that "being closed with bread some mous or ratte did tak it away."

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the miserable condition of Scotland under the rule of the Covenanters. They contain also a great deal of information about the internal history of the Scottish seminaries on the Continent, and about the lives led by exiled Scots, both priests and laymen, in the middle of the seventeenth century. The letters are personal and private, so they have a greater interest and historical value than the official reports that the Jesuit Fathers sent annually from Scotland to the General of the Order.¹

Even after long years of exile the Scottish Jesuits had not forgotten the speech of their native land. The broad Scots into which they frequently slip when writing, shows that they probably spoke English with a pronounced Scottish accent. In spite of the persecution they had suffered, in spite of the hatred shown them by the Covenanters, they still express in their letters a genuine affection for the old kingdom of Scotland. They had been exiled, they had been maligned by their own countrymen until the name of Jesuit became an evil word ; but they wanted to go back ; they had not lost their love for “ the land of caikes.”

¹ Published by Forbes Leith in his *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics*.

CHAPTER I

KING CHARLES II, MONTROSE, AND THE SCOTTISH JESUITS

King Charles and the Commissioners of the Kirk of Scotland—"A Jesuit in disguise," Mr John Spens, agent for Montrose—Father Robert Gall sends news from the North—The King visits the Jesuits at Douai—Father Christie interviews the King and Queen at Beauvais—The Tragedy of Montrose—The King lands in Scotland—Battle of Dunbar—Cromwell and Scottish Catholics—The Military Intelligence of Father Gall—The Scots march to Worcester—Father Gall tells the story of the King's escape—The King in exile—Plans for his conversion—Reports on miserable estate of Scotland; the Catholics enjoy a brief respite from persecution—Father Gall returns to the "land of bannocks"—His report on arrival.

DURING the summer of 1649 Charles II was at the Hague, still dazed by the news of his father's execution, which had taken place in January of that year. He had no determined plan. His mother Henrietta wanted him to join her in France. Ireland seemed to offer a safe refuge. Commissioners from Scotland had arrived in March, informing him that he had been proclaimed King in Scotland, and inviting him to that kingdom, "upon condition of his good behaviour, and strict observance of the Covenant."¹ He decided for Ireland, but on landing in Jersey, in September, received bad news from Ormonde, and, hesitating to go any further, made up his mind to return to Holland. In a letter dated 22nd October, 1649, Father Christie summarised the position of the royal party:—

"Montros is said to haue sent to Orknay 150 officiares in a fregat from Holand, himself in Denmark with hopes of Germane assistance, our King, and his brother in Gersay indigent, and not sure. Our Queen to a monastery, and Germane² to Holand to sell the royall ieuels. Embassadoures from them Colpeper to Mescouia,³ Cotington⁴ to Spane."

The seven commissioners of the Kirk of Scotland left Holland "in discomfort and grief, yet not without some

¹ Clarendon's *History*, VI, p. 271.

² Lord Henry Jermyn.

³ Lord John Colepepper arrived in Moscow, May 1650. He obtained from the Emperor of Russia a loan of 20,000 roubles (*Clarendon Papers*, II, p. 71).

⁴ Lord Cottington.

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hope"; so they reported the apparent failure of their mission to the General Assembly on 10th July 1649.¹ These seven stout Covenanters, filled with a pious horror of Popery, who would sooner have sailed with the devil than with a Catholic priest, did not know that on their return journey they were accompanied by a Jesuit in disguise! The fact that Father George Leslie² sailed on board the ship which took them back to Leith is mentioned by Father Gall in his letter written from Douai to Rome on 16th June, 1649:—

"Our King his voyage to Ireland is delayed becaus the Prlmt shippis ar lying a waite for him. our faction of Royalists in the north of Scotland is yet once more scattered & dispersed by Dauid Lesley, who abene Balueny killed a 100, tooke 900 prisoners amongst others Middleton & Pluscartie wt the Lord Roe & all his. It seemes the Gordons and Ogilbies ar fled to the hills. The ministers indyted a day of solemme thanksgiuing for this, & so Argile and his faction doth still rule the rost. Heere the report is that Montrose is gon to Sweedland & Dennemarke to leuie forces wherewt to enter into Scotland, this is what occures for the present. . . . F. G. Lesley is gon to Leith frome Veere [Campvere] in the ship wt the commissioners. F. Seton ere this I beleeve is shipped also for Scotland, where our madde Presbyterians ar turning english Independents in the South especiallie & more enraged then euer heretofore agaynst Catholikes by reason of their swelling successes & prowld prosperitie. . . ."

¹ Baillie, *Letters and Journals*, III, p. 510.

² A postscript to this letter shows that Father George Leslie, and his brother Father Andrew, were cousins of David Leslie, the Cromwellian leader: "Now I learne that not David Lesley yr cusin but on Colonel Ker and Strachan obtayned this victory ouer the Mackenzies. . . ."

Father George remained for some years in Scotland, and in 1655 was working "in Buchane, Garioche, and therabout, and not without profite." (F. James Anderson, 14th April, 1655). He was afterwards Superior of the Jesuits on the Scottish mission, and used the *alias* "Johnson." His name is not mentioned in the usual printed records for this period of Scottish history. Gilbert Blakhal in his *Brieffe Narration of the Services done to Three Noble Ladyes* (1631-49), tells a story of his own adventures when returning disguised from Scotland. After he had landed in France the skipper discovered who he was: "Lieutenant Hay upon the sea, and Father Blakhal upon the land is but al one thing. If I had bein tould that ther was a preist in my shippe, I would never have suspected him, he was so merye and jovial, ever singing, or making sport to the company, but the devil is in their cunningnesse"

CHARLES II, MONTROSE, AND THE JESUITS

In July, 1649 Father Gall reported in his letter to Rome that :—

“ Father George landed at Kirkaldy saffe the 27 of the last month wt the commissioners frome the King. F. Seton went frome Amsterdam wt John Gordon of Berwick in a dutche fregat the 19.¹”

Very little is known about Father John Seton ; in the Douai Diary for 1625 he is referred to as “ filius Chamberlani de Fyvie ” ; no account of his life is given in Oliver’s *Collections* or in Paul Macpherson’s MS. *Catalogue of Scottish Missionary Priests*. After entering the Society he was sent to Madrid, and, from 1644 (or perhaps earlier) to 1649, he held some post in the College at Douai, probably that of Prefect of Studies. From Father Seton’s letters it is evident that he had been asked, or had volunteered, to go to Scotland with the object of enlisting the support of the Catholics on behalf of Montrose. For a Jesuit to undertake this kind of work was contrary to the rule of the Society ; but there are occasions when rules must be broken, and the personal appeal of Montrose must have been irresistible to a patriotic Scottish exile. Father Seton kept his secret, not only from his enemies, but from his fellow-Jesuits ; he was so discreet that he almost succeeded in keeping it from posterity. Yet Father Christie at Paris had some suspicions, and was a little worried about his colleague’s mysterious journey.

“ Paris 17 December, 1649. Father Seaton is returned from Hamburg to Scotland as I learne be Colonel Johnstone his letters to me. I wish he harme not himself and others, with his voiage.”

Colonel William Johnstone was Montrose’s agent at Hamburg, “ a resolute man and an old soldier.”² His name is frequently mentioned by Father Gall and Father Christie. He was one of the sources of their military intelligence. It is probable that he was a Catholic.

Early in the following year Father Christie, then at Douai,

¹ This John Gordon was Master of the Household at Huntly Castle (Blakhal’s *Narration*, p. 58). He married in 1654 a sister of Fr. George Bisset, “ Knoke-spikes or Aradoules uidow ” (Christie to Bisset, 9th February, 1655).

² Wishart’s *Memoirs of Montrose*, p. 293.

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was still anxious to know what was going on. On an undated slip of paper he wrote :—

“ F. Seaton come laitly to Douay hath made some secret voiage, uich I uish be secret and he circumspect thir doges dayes, this to yourself til I knou more, nor my suspicion is for the present.”

Father Gall wrote to Rome on the 7th of January, 1650 :—

“ I doubt not but F. Seaton hath wrettin to yr R. himself from Zeeland or Holland whether he returned the 20 of Nouember last frome Coppenhagen capitall of Dennemarcke¹ whether he went to meete wt Montrose to deale wt him for the Catholickes in our cuntrey, towards whome he hath promised very much, if his successe answer his expectation. The said father is returned for Scotland, whether to arryue he will have great difficultie by reason of the english & Irish pyrats who play the Rouers on these seaes, & spoyle all passengers. . . .”

It is a pity that the details of Father John Seton's story must remain untold. He travelled to Scotland under the *alias* “ John Spens,” and there are several letters signed with that name in Father Seton's handwriting among the papers at Blairs. In one of these letters he hints explicitly at the business which required so many journeys in such a short space of time—in June, 1649, he was on his way to Scotland, in November of that year back again, and at Copenhagen, in December back once more in Scotland. An explanation of all this activity is contained in the first paragraph of his letter, dated from Campveere in Holland, 6th December, 1649, addressed to Father Adam Gordon at the Scots College, Rome :—

“ HONOURED AND WORTHY FRIEND,

“ Since I did sie you last, being safely returned to the countrey, [Scotland] it behoued me shortly thereafter to come out of it againe for some important affaيرة concerneing the common good, of the occasion and good succes of which voyage ye shalbe further acquainted att some fitter opportunity, when being at home, whither now presently I ame about to repaire, I shall sie some prooffe of the good effects of my negotiation, by the performances of dyuers promises and

¹ “ Towards the end of October (1649) Montrose was enlisting men secretly at Copenhagen ” (Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth*, I, p. 212).

Honored and Worthy friend

I have I do for you left, being safely returned to the contrary, it behoved^{me} shortly thereafter
 to use^{only} it againe for some important affaires concerning the common good, of the which
 on one good friend of mine, you are so shall findie arguement all some forth opportunity
 while being at home, whether next present, or some about to depart, I shall be full proofe
 of the good effect of my resolution, by the performance of myne promise, and presently
 which that, whom I have to write, with his maye write me in his own hand, by which I
 to have him of your safe and happy arriveth, and at the charge and expence, where
 ye are led to have which or is to get forth, in it I hope ye shall be able to give ample
 proofe of the goodwill in providing^{ing} which since ye proposed to be to the bettering
 one of your distressed brethren at home; and out of the piece and falling to be
 by people experience, ye can not but stand of this: Worthy and sufficient proceeds to fore
 shall ye in your some comfort and relief to him of beinge send into the country, for
 and support of these more than one bright word and mayest, beinge assured, as affe ye
 may a new thing, content, or this mutual misery for to define that favour, and
 content at some hand. In the same place of liberty, which will be offered into you to in-
 pious effects one good and befall instrument in the guidance and advancement of
 your good, and the well of your country, according to the particular quality and occasion
 which in this calamity, by which shall be mynistrall to you, and to your assist
 and may be employed in the which shall, too in mynistrall, and shall name some
 to be, in the which I will write to you, as much as may, to improve you in the way
 of any well deserving friend, who shall desire my recommendation into you, and to be
 in this, there is a gentleman of that order, who lately hath come forward your grace
 whom I must, for his own worth, and in your education, that but this I expect
 for I have found my brother, and his most affectionate recommendation into your favour
 and friendship. His name is Mr. alle, a young man of learning, who is now in the
 as come out of the country in my country, and beinge in his way, to paye him Italy
 this daye, and to pass some time there, he will be very glad of your acquaintance
 and of his, he will desire your favour; it may be, that if other affairs, call him not
 home soone, havinge performed his business in that place, he will reside in Spain, or some
 some place there, and come here to his studies, whom I although he is achieving some more
 than ordinary business, yet havinge commoditie, as is desired to argue, and to be
 his history, a most or most comfortable, a most to be his study, and to be
 I shall write to thank him all the favour and civility ye can for the little accompani-
 ment in this his good desire, ye and if it is possible to returne him in your name
 that effect: as much as I can not demand, ye shall need, and am of one nation, both
 dispose of it, and one on whom the benefit thereof shall be better both, as there is
 another gentleman of mynistrall friend at home who is lately become Catholicke, he is
 his lands in view of the Church, and havinge through this honour in the country, left
 his old wealth, and underdressed, he is now, although some time since, and beinge in
 misfortune from his help, by obtaininge himself for the payment of the debt, and one
 much more by the next of kin, which, in hope, that this time, beinge now in our
 againe in our country, that will be a great of your name, to improve your study, of the
 who are yett pleased in such business, what can be expected in this, that understandinge
 in the way, the way may be more particularly, as some both words, and in mynistrall
 which, in view of the Church, and havinge through this honour in the country, left
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LETTER FROM FATHER JOHN SETON TO FATHER ADAM GORDON,
6TH DECEMBER 1649.

[To face p. 20.]

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preferments which those, whome I hade to dealle with, hes made unto me. . . .”

Examination of this paragraph produces some additional information about Father Seton's work on behalf of Montrose. Father Adam Gordon, his correspondent, was in Italy, probably at Rome, in the spring of 1649, so that the words “since I did sie you last” support the inference that before going to Scotland in June “Jhone Spens” had been to Rome in order to try and get assistance in that quarter. From the “good succes” of his first journey to Scotland it follows that the loyalists in Aberdeenshire had promised to support Montrose. The Jesuit Father was at home for only three or four months at the most, and would not have been able in that time to canvass much further than the country round Aberdeen. On meeting Montrose at Copenhagen in November, he assured him that the Catholics, and probably others too, in that part of Scotland could be relied on to rally to his standard. The words “good effects of my negotiation” seem to refer to the good effects on the fortunes of the Church in Scotland which would result from the victory of Montrose, who had promised to protect the Catholics from persecution. The remainder of the letter consists in a lengthy and urgent appeal to Father Adam Gordon to use all the influence he can command at the Roman Court, and he lays particular stress on the fact that Montrose is the only man in the Royalist party who can be trusted:—

“Ye knowe by your owne experience how well the Marques of Montrose in his last imployment for the Kings service in our countrey, was affected to yourselfe, freinds, and there adherents; it is lickely that ere it be long he shall haue againe the same, yea grytter power and commission, and consequently hoped that he shall prooue more propense to fauour and befreind them then euer. And therefore I must intreate you . . . giue a most fauorable and aduantageous information of that most worthy nobleman desseineings unto those who are of gryttest power, and in most eminent dignity there . . . to the effect that when recourse shal be made unto them for there helpe and assistance in our kings behalfe, they may be made so much the more bent and fordward in the affording thereof.”

The letter goes on in the same strain for about half a page, and concludes with the suggestion that:—

“ . . . if his Holines and Clergy coulde be moued to afford helpe unto our king by subministrateing unto him some con-

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siderable somme of money (a hundreth thousand ducates or two would doe much good), the manageing and disposition whereof shoulde be at the charge of his worthy and valiant Generall Montrose; I ame confident that neuer any monyes should be thought better bestowed by that Sea, and whereby grytter benefitte shoulde redound to the common good of the whole Church in the propagation and restauration of Gods true worshype and Catholicke faithe in our countrey; I cannot goodly commit to wrett what I knowe of his Excellences inclination in that kynd; nor the many most aduantageous and fauourable expressions that I haue hade from his owne mouthe in that particulare; only in generall I may assure you that if his good intentions be seconded be those there, he is bothe able and willing to doe them the best piece of seruice in behalfe of Catholickes that ever hes beene done by any in these Kingdomes, since there defection from that Sea. For Gods sake then, permitt not, so farr as ye can, that so good occasion be neglected, nor so fitt an instrument for so good effect be slighted or misregarded, but rather by all meanes cherished, and assisted in the prosecution and execution of his most worthy designs and interpryses. This is all I haue to trouble yow withe at present, and expecteing your fauourable answeare, and effectuall performance of my desires herein, I conclude withe the remembrance of my best loue and respects to Messrs Dempster¹ and Crushanke² and other my freinds and acquaintance there, and rests your humbly affectionat seruand. Jhone Spens.
 "from Campher the 6 of December 1649. olde stylles."

Father Seton's suggestion about the one or two hundred thousand ducats, which may have originated with Montrose, was probably quite impracticable. There was very little money at Rome, and such a sum, to be of any use, would have had to be obtained secretly. The news that the Pope was financing Montrose would have set Scotland on fire. The fact that Charles II had endeavoured to obtain money in Rome had provided useful propaganda in England. At least two editions were printed in 1650 of a pamphlet, entitled "The King of Scotland's Negotiations at Rome for Assistance against the Commonwealth of England."³ Yet, if the business could have been transacted without publicity, the success of

¹ Father Francis Dempster, S.J.

² Brother Patrick Cruikshank, S.J.

³ Introduction to *Diary of Johnston of Warriston*, S.H.S., p. xv, n., 1919.

CHARLES II, MONTROSE, AND THE JESUITS

the Royalist party was assured. With money in his pocket, Montrose, who had raised armies out of the heather, would in a few weeks have triumphed over all the King's enemies. Those enemies had already declared, when they were being hammered by the Marquis in 1644, that he was conspiring with "ane band of Irish rebels and Masse-priests for establishing of Poperie." They were right, because in the language of those times the "establishment of Poperie" meant nothing more than the granting of freedom to the Catholics. This would have put an end, not only to the economic persecution of individuals, but also to the unanswered misrepresentation of Catholic teaching, ethics, and history, upon which the success of the "ministers of Gods word" so largely depended. Against any proposal to grant toleration to the Catholics, even such partial toleration as the Protestants of France enjoyed under the Edict of Nantes, covenanted Scotland would have brought every available pike and musket. So that if the Pope had provided 200,000 ducats,¹ a victorious Montrose might have found it difficult to implement his side of the bargain.

The letters of the Jesuit Fathers contain many allusions to the efforts made by Montrose, in the winter of 1649, to raise troops for his projected expedition into Scotland. On 20th November, 1649, Father Gall, who was still at Douai, ended his letter to the Rector of the Scots College, Rome, with a short summary of news from the north :—

"For Newes the Earle of Kinoul is landed in Orkenay wt 3 or 400 Danes for the most part all officers, since others (the number I know not) ar sayd to be landed in portu salutis sent frome Hamburgh by the Marques of Montrose, some say they ar 4000, and that he himself is to follow shortly wt so many more of the disbanded Sweedish. Arguyle hearing this did leauye 9000 foote and 2000 horses, of which sundryes runne daily to the North to ioine wt that party arrysing for Montrose. David Lesley hauing but 3000 men in his marche to the North wt commande to stoppe the Hauens, darre not venture further then Aberdeen. Arguyle hath promise of succour, & forces frome Englands Independents, if Montrose comme home himself, or that faction of his take any notable

¹ In double gold ducats of Flanders' currency this would be equal to about £150,000 in modern money, with a purchasing power not far from £500,000. Silver Italian ducats were valued at about a third of the double gold ducat.

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increasse. England neuer more wealthy & proud, being freed of all impostes, & making eury on swear fidelity to their commonwealth, Catholikes & Priests liue there now securely for a littil monnyes, but in Scotland the ministers tyranize. There is a flying report of a victory gayned by the Royalists in Irelande . . . nothing certayne as yet, only certayne it is, and so shall it euer be that I am & that inviolablie

“your R. his most hartely affectionat in Ch. Jesus

“ROB. GALL S.J.”

In his letter of 7th January 1650, Father Gall continues his news bulletin :—

“The constant report is that Montrose did take shipping about Xstmasse at Hamburg wt 4 or 5000 able men, partly Scotts,¹ partly Danes, Germans & Sweeds, intending to land in Orkeney, whether he sent afore some 1500 men under the conduct of the Counte of Kinowl, who is reported to have landed in Kathnesse, & driven or takin away thence great store of cornes, catell, and such Prouision, & 2 or 3 ships loaden wt 15, 25 & 30 peece of ordinance, sent by Argyle to oppose him, the greater did surrender itself of purpose, the other two were gayned by the said earle of Kinoul.² The Marques of Montrose his colours are all blacke wt ane Arme and a drawne sword paynted in the middst of them, wt the motto (Reuenge) signifying by this that he intends to vindicate the late kings death.³

“Agaynst these Argyle is reported to have 9000 foote & 2000 horse allready, but of these many runne away daily towards the North, whether the greater part of the Nobility Royalists is retyred, to eshew the oathe presented now by

¹ “It was known that Montrose was about to sail for Scotland from Sweden, and . . . rumour credited him wt the possession of supplies and forces which would be sufficient to enable him to hold his own, even if not a single Scotsman declared in his favour” (Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth*, I, p. 210).

² The facts are given in a letter written by Kinnoul to Montrose: “the nixt day efter we landed ther ancered a schipp of 16 gunnes in another road of this same island. the Captane no sooner understood the reality of our intentions and your orders, but wery galantly delivered the rebelle armes unto us, and declared schipp and all to be at your commandes” (Wodrow MSS., fol. lxxvii, p. 93, quoted in *Memoirs of Montrose*, p. 256-7.) The officer in charge of this ship was a Captain Hall (S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth*, I, p. 211).

³ This describes, not the standard of Montrose, but that of the King (*Balfour*, III, pp. 438-40). Montrose had a banner of white damask, with a lion rampant and the motto *nil medium*.

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Argyles meanes to eury one, to adhere to the gouvernement now established in Scotland by way of Parliament, & not to accept of King Charles the 2. but conditionally etc. It is sayd that 6000 English ar marched towards the North to ioyne wt Argyle (now a formall Independent) if neede be. Thus great appearance there wilbe Knocks the Man [*sic*].”

While Montrose was preparing his expedition for Scotland, the King had decided (January 1650) to negotiate with the Covenanters. They had written to Jersey, inviting him once again to come over, “not without a rude insinuation that it was the last invitation he should receive.”¹ The Catholics on the Continent were dismayed at the King’s *rapprochement* with the Presbyterian party. In letters sent from Paris to Rome at this date Father Christie expresses the prevailing despondency. From the very beginning he saw that the Catholic cause had little to expect from the King:—

“Paris 22 Oct. 1649. The miseryes of our countrey doe augment daily, and smal hopes of our King his proceadinges, or Montros attempts, so it is God must doe it, uhois uil be done, and oures conform to his.”

In February of the following year he writes:—

“The Kings treaty uil ruin al Cath. and frinds as is suspected.”

And on 5th March:—

“They say Montrose is landet in Scotland bot no certanety in that pairt or uhat is done. al is in vane seing ye king is seduced and betrayed be those about him to adhere to the presbyterianes. he is upon the uay to Bredha to that treacherous and dangerous traity.”

Father Gall writes from Douai on the 16th of February 1650:—

“Our king is to go shortly to Breda from Gersey where our Scotts ar, to conclude their treatise wt him, & pay his charges. Montrose hath wreatin to him that he is willing to sacrificize his interests to his Mties whome he desyres to see reestablished wt honour.”²

¹ Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, p. 399.

² This was one of the last letters written to the King by Montrose. It is not among the letters printed by Napier.

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On 23rd March, Father Gall gives some details of the King's doings on his way to Breda, which, as far as I know, have never been elsewhere recorded :—

“ Douay, the 23 of Marche 1650.

“ Our King passed thorough this famous university where he lodged one only night, yet did he accept most kyndely of us all his most Ancient subjects heere, & suffered to entertayne & be entertayned by our R.F. Rector & his subjects almost 2 howers space, albeit he was in great haste. From hence he went to Lille, Courtrey, Gendt, Antwerp & so to Breda,¹ where he is to treat wt our Scotts, yet wt the sword in hand, for wee heare that Montrose is landed at Orkeney wt many thousands, so Scotland is all in posture of offence and defence, the states armie under the conduct of D. Lesley being marched North to encounter Montrose. The King hath not one Scotts man to counsell him in his company,² & yet he intends to reestablish himself by them, this seemes to me very misterious, & in very deed there is nothing but mist & darknesse in the matter. God turn all to his greater glorie. . . . I am next weeke to depart hence Godwilling for Paris. . . . ”

In the course of his journey the King also visited Beauvais, where he went at the request of Queen Henrietta, in order to discuss with her the advisability of complying with the demands of the Scottish Commissioners.³ It happened that Father Christie was in Beauvais on the 9th March, on his way to replace Father Gall at Douai :—

“ Beauois. 9. March 1650. I departed from Paris ye 6 of Marche, this day at Bouois I did visite the Queen who was kind, also the King (as she desired) uhom I did find as euer before very gracious and desired me come to him to-morrou in the morning. No thing inculcat in his eares bot that he adhere to the presbyterian pairtie which is suspected be his surest friendes to redound to his ruine.”

From the postscript to this letter, which gives an account of the meeting with the King, it is evident that Charles had

¹ He arrived there on 16th March (Gardiner, *op. cit.*, I, p. 217).

² “ There is no Scotsman that is on the King's council ” (Baillie, *Letters and Journals*, III, p. 88).

³ Clarendon's *History*, VI, p. 401; and Letter from Queen Henrietta to William, Duke of Hamilton, Paris, 9th April, 1650, *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 11th Report, App. 6, p. 131.

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succeeded in allaying for a moment the suspicions of the old priest :—

“This morning I hade gracious audience of his Mty uho after mutual discours he only gaue thanks, bot said I should find that he uold follou my counsails, particulares I uil not tooch, bot I uas uery real, and he most affectionat soe that I could not expect nor wish more. . . .”

Shortly after his interview with Father Christie, the King graciously gave audience to the Rev. Dr André Rivet, Minister of the French Protestant Church at Breda, a “man of extreme old age,” writes Baillie,¹ who had been appointed by the Commission of the General Assembly in February 1650 “to superintend and negotiate with his most Serene majesty the affaires that related to the increase of God’s Kingdome in Scotland.”² In a letter to the Commission, dated August 1650, Dr Rivet reports that he had paid his respects to the King “for the first time on his coming hither,” and found him to be “Christian indeed, but in some respects labouring under infirmity and preconceived views.”³ Five months later, on the 16th August, the King, having recovered from his “infirmity,” signed the Declaration imposed upon him by the Commission of the General Assembly, in which he “doth now detest and abhor all poperie, superstition and idolatrie.”

Although Father Christie had been misled, as so many were, by the King’s diplomacy, he did not remain deceived for long. A month later he was under no illusion as to the course events were to take :—

“Douay April 28. 1650. to Scots Coll. Rome. The propositiones of our Puritaine commissionares to the king are he signe their couenant, quite al his friends, approue al their statutes made, and submit himself to be totally gouerned be them. They haue monyes uith them to tempt him being in necessity, but comand not to gife them til the treaty be ueale aduanced as they uold. soe noe good expected. Kinoul is dead in Orcnay, Sinclair in his place, Montros not their arriued uith his too long expected forces. in Ingland they are become insolent, Irland in ane pitiful posture, this is al doe occur. . . .”

¹ Op. cit., III, p. 521.

² André Rivet died on 7th January, 1651, aged seventy-eight (E. Haag, *La France Protestante*, tome viii, p. 445, Paris, 1858).

³ *General Assembly Commission Records*, III, p. 564.

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An undated, unsigned fragment of a letter in the handwriting of Father Christie contains an interesting summary of the situation as it was in the spring of 1650, beginning with a hint that the King's financial difficulties might hasten his decision to join the Covenanters :—

“ . . . they refuse to giue him [the King] monyes during the treaty as uas expected. they are drauing him in the nett as a fish. It is thoght upon any condition he uil to Scotland, bot uil not haue his brother (as is said) uith him, not for dainger bot amulation. the Inglish are leuieing armyes it is thoght for Scotland the best pairt be sea and land. it is uriten be diuers that Montros is pairted from Norauay, bot of his landing or numberes as yet not certane. they urite Gnal King his Lieutenant and Colonel Jhonstone are at Hamburg to follou. time uil try and God uil shou shortly his uil. . . .”

In the spring of 1650, Father Gall had a serious illness and was unable to write during the months of April, May, and June. The King sailed on the 11th of June from Heligoland, having at the last moment given way and signed the treaty with the Scots. He arrived at Speymouth on the 23rd. Father Christie writes from Douai on the 27th :—

“ . . . we knou not heere if our king be gone to Scotland as yet.”

The tragic termination of Montrose's last adventure did not come as a surprise to many of his friends and well-wishers in Europe. Father Christie had no illusions about the expedition :—

“ Paris 17th December, 1649. It is said Lambert uith 5000 men are to uinter in Louthian to secure the Argathelians, and Daudid Lesley uith forces gone to ye north to guaird the coastes against Montros uho as Colonel Johnston urites to me intendes for Scotland about Christmass, bot except God particularly assist him, their be smal hopes, haueing such forces to oppose him.”

Father Robert Gall sent the disastrous news to Rome in a letter dated 8th July, 1650, part of which was printed by Forbes Leith,¹ with many omissions and inaccuracies, due perhaps to the minuteness of the handwriting. The letter is a long one, and contains too much irrelevant and uninteresting matter to be worth printing in full. Father Gall begins by chiding his friend in Rome for remissness in answering letters. Father Andrew Leslie was a very indifferent correspondent :—

“ I doubt not but your R. doth reckonne me amongst the

¹ *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics*, II, p. 50.

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dead (usque eo obliuioni datus sum tanquam mortuus a corde)¹ yet neither in this are you totally mistaken, for if a dangerous disease wch yet endured not long, had not driuen me to the doore threshold of Death, my lynes had proued more leste, and lesse lingering to witnesse my inuiolable lowe towards your most lowing self. During those 2 months wch I have liued heere in Paris I hade not the happinesse to be honoured wt your lynes."

After about a page concerned with the sending of students to Rome, especially one young man "whose name is Rosse, as his countrey also . . . yr R. did often helpe a leady Ant of his in Rosse . . ." Father Gall comes to his news from Scotland:—

"As for Newesfrome Scotland they ar daily worse & worse, & so badde that I haue no hart nor hand to wreat them. I doubt not but you haue heard of the defait giuen to Montrose by Strachan in Rosse, where shortly efter his landing some 300 horse of the couenanters under the conduct of this Strauchan (who heertofore was but a driuer of eale from Musselburgh into Edenburgh)² did sett upon 1200 or 1400 of Montroses, & kill some 300 or thereabout, & take the rest prisoners, Montrose himself being wounded in 3 parts escapt them, but 3 dayes efter was takin disguised in boores appaurell, brought wt 500 horse to Edenburgh, tyed wt chaynes to a cart beareheaded, & the hangeman sitting on horseback & couered, who conducted him, was thus conducted through the imprecations of the rascall people in the streets, to the tollbooth where some say he was imprisoned in the theeues holle as they call it, & 2 or 3 dayes efter hanged at the crosse of Edenburgh upon a gibbet 30 foote highe, efter his head cutt off and sett upon the tollbooth of ye citty. Of his armes one was sent to Aberdeene to be exsposed there, another to St Johnstown [Perth], & on of his legges to Striuling, the other to Glasgow, to be dishonoured there, where he gayned honour & repitation by his former victories. Efter him was beheaded also Hurrie, one Charterous, Darcey, grandchylde to the laste pretended Bishop of St Andrewes, Colonel Sibbet & your ghostlie chylde Dalgathie. The scaffold, gibbet 30 foote highe wt the Maidne as they call it stands yet at the crosse of Edenburgh, & is called the Altar of Argyle & his Ministers.

¹ Psalm xxx. 12.

² Archibald Strachan was born at Musselburgh. "His father . . . is, in 1645, styled 'maltman in the Fisherraw'" (C. Rogers, *Memorials of the Families of Strachan and Wise*, p. 20, 1877).

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The King did embarcke for Scotland the 17 or 18 of June, yet no word of his arryual to Scotland. Duke Hamilton & the Earle of Latherdale ar gone both allongst wt him, albeit both of them be declared banished & consequently incapable to return home with the King, as also ar some 12 or 13 more, of which the Earle of Seafort is one, & Calender also, & generals King & Ruthuen. . . .

"Our Queen liueth still in the Monastery of Theresian Nunnes heere in want, hauing congediati the greater part of her seruants. The Duke of York is still at Gersey ilande. Wee expect here daily Is Mouat¹ wt a daughter of my Lord M. of Douglas who will informe us of all more particularly. In the conflict & defaite of Montrose young Petfodels was killed who carryed the Kings Colours.² Crichton Frendrets sonne was hurt, who dyed of his wounds at the milles of Drumme, shortly efter being taken prisoner & emouered that farre for Edinburgh. Mr Ballantin gott accesse to Dalgathie, & heard his confession, before his execution.³ Mr William Lumsden⁴ is takin by Cant, & kept prisoner at Aberdene. Gossip Rob. Irwin & his wyffe wt one or 2 more apprehended also on Palm Sunday ar sent to be emprisoned in Edinburgh where they ar ill used. Mr Ballentin who had sayd Mass to them escapt uery narrowlie. . . ."

On 27th June, 1650, Father Christie gives some additional details of the persecution:—

"In Aberdeen Sr Paul Menzes sone Thomas uas taken out of his bed and put in prison (nou released and comed to Camphire) also Gossip Iruing⁵ uith his uife, theirafter al

¹ See Appendix III.

² Menzies of Pitfoddels had been converted six years previously by Father Rob. S.J. He had a son at Douai who, on receiving the news of his father's death, "quitted the friars for the lairdship" (Fr. Gall to Fr. Leslie, 15th July, 1650).

³ Hay of Dalgetty "ran and kissed the scaffold, and without any speech or ceremony laid down his head on the block and was presently beheaded" (Whitelocke, *Memorials*, III, p. 202). "He died catholique," says Father Gall, and made a short speech, a copy of which was to be sent to the Scots College, Rome. "Dalgathies speeche I sende not, becaus it was not sent to me, the content of it is only to shew he dyes most contentedly becaus of his loyaltie to his Soueraigne, & his constancy to the Cath. fayth" (P.S. to Fr. Gall's letter, 15th July, 1650).

⁴ Forbes Leith is wrong (*Memoirs*, II, p. 52) in his identification of this Mr William Lumsden with the priest Thomas Lumsden, who did not come to Scotland till 1651.

⁵ "Robert Irvine, commonly called Gossop Irvine, a traffecting papist for many years, died at Aberdeen, March 15th, 1664, about 80 of age, buried at

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deteaned at fittie [Footdee]. Mr Wm Lumsden and woundet uith his ouen pistol, befor uich he urite to me ane letter shouing the cruelty, misery and necessityes they endured be the souldiours and imposts soe that they could not liue."

William Lumsden may be identified with the advocate in Old Aberdeen, of whom Spalding wrote¹ "he and his wyffe were both excommunicated papists."

On 15th July, Father Gall writes:—

"Kant caused apprehende sundryes in Aberdeene as Rob. Irwin, & his wyffe, Th. Menzies, Mr Wm Lumsden who becaus he made resistance was hurt, & some one or two more, who ar all emprisoned. if this rigour hold our ffa. wreat that they wilbe forced to quyte the cuntrey, yet are they resolved to abyde the uttermost, of this they & I desyre your R. to enforme our R. F. General, to whome now they dar not aduenture to wreat becaus all letters ar intercepted."

The twelve months from 3rd September 1650 to 3rd September 1651 make one of the most eventful years in the history of these islands. After the King had landed in Scotland in June 1650, there was no lack of exciting news: the defeat of the Scots by Cromwell at Dunbar on the 3rd of September; the coronation on New Year's Day, 1651; the rash decision of the King to lead his army into England; the collapse of the royal cause at Worcester on the 3rd of September that same year.

On the 15th of July, 1650, Father Gall sends a paragraph of rumours from Scotland:—

"Since my last our Newes are this weeke that the king was landed in Orkeney, some say that thence he came to Aberdeene, & thence was conveyed to Edinburgh (other say to Falkland) by Generall Lesley wt 3000 horse, what they will doe wt him God knowes, eury one feareth the worst . . . last weeke the English ships did take 4 our Scotts shipps & arrest al such passengers as they found therein, wch they doe to all our countreyemen which they finde in any Holland ship or Hamburgher. The Irish since Cromwells departure begine to prosper, but the plague hinderes them much. . . ."

Definite tidings of the King's landing did not reach Douai till the 10th August, when Father Christie writes:—

"I have a kind letter from my Lord Marquis of Huntly, Maria ad Nives" (*Diary of John Row*, p. 18. Aberdeen, 1894). Jamieson's Dictionary has "Gossep = one who stands sponsor to a child." This meaning may provide an explanation of Robert Irving's nickname.

¹ *Troubles*, II, p. 365.

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shouing that he is and shalbe mindful of his education and first instruction I gaue him. His letter daited at Hunthall altho our king landet at Germok [Garmouth], lodget in the Bog,¹ and next in Strabogie, my Lord nor no other ueale uiller uas permitted to speak or conuoy him, only those uare nominat be the couenanteres, uho nou uil haue to doe uth their fraudulent and cruel proceadinges in opposing their English brethren, uhom I feare God shal permit, and mak use of as instrumentes of his reuenge against our miserable countrey for their haeresy and iniquities."

Father Gall, at Paris, was still in close touch with the situation, and his letters show with what interest he followed every detail of the King's movements in Scotland. His letter of the 19th of August, 1650, is full of an expectancy that great events are imminent :—

"Newes from Scotland ar that our king was proclaymed king at all the borowes of the kingdome, the crosse of Edemb. being all couered wt crimson veluet embradered, during that ceremony, bonnefyres were made ouer the whole kingdome, & all seme most satisfyed. his coronation is delayed yet some space. Arguil is great steward or maior domo to his Mtie. Duke Hamilton, Latherdale, Braynefoord, Sr Ja. Hamilton of Priestfield etc exyled from court & some say out of the kingdome. . . . Some say our Scotts army is 20,000 strong & that the English stand at a stauy not darring agresse them. Others say that upon Cromwells entrey the Scotts armie retyred to Leyth where they lye entrenched, Cromwell lying in Dunbar and Haddinton, but this is not certayne, albeit most probable. Sundryes feare there be some good correspondence twix Argile and Cromwell, tyme will teache us more. . . ."

One of the paradoxes of seventeenth-century history is the appearance of Cromwell in Scotland as saviour of the Catholics. His victory over the King and Covenanters at Dunbar, 3rd September, 1650, marks a turn of the tide in favour of the small minority of Scots who still were true to the old religion. The ministers had staked their reputation on the event of the battle; they had publicly declared that the issue would establish the justice of their cause, and had prepared for the ordeal by prayer and fasting, and by "purging" from the army all those whose "faith" was regarded as doubtful. In spite of these precautions the army of Saints

¹ Bog of Gicht, *i.e.*, Gordon Castle.

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was routed, and never has a fight so clearly been lost through the fault of the vanquished. At Dunbar the Covenanters lost also the confidence of their own people. "The dreadful appearance of God against us at Dunbar" led Alexander Jaffray to wonder whether there had not been "some mistake in the mind and will of God in the carrying on these covenants."¹ But even before their defeat in the field the intolerance of the ministers had begun to alienate the sympathy of nearly all the sensible people still left in Scotland. The Presbyterians on the Continent saw even more clearly that their Scottish brethren had gone too far. "We meet with daily regrets," said Spang, minister at Campvere, Holland, a year before Dunbar, "that antient ministers are contemned and the insolency of young ones fostered. . . . The Lord mak us wyse in tyme."² "Be assured," he wrote to the Principal of Glasgow University, "that our enemies will proclaim quickly this, with much more, to all the world by print." Even in Scotland men had begun to realise that the prayers addressed so violently to Heaven might not be answered in the way expected. The programme set for the Lord's confirmation was comprehensive enough; it included the "bringing in of the Jews," the extermination of "this bloudie popery," the abolition of "all prelacy and licentiousness," and the establishment of the Covenant over the whole earth. The intervention of Cromwell had compelled a return to practical politics, but the ministers were in despair at "the Lord's strange judgements." For even in the chosen kingdom the good work did not prosper. "Scotland," wrote Baillie, "is in a most uncomfortable condition;" the nobles and gentlemen "are wracked or going to wrack." The yoke of the English was intolerable. But, hard pressed as they were by the English army of occupation, the Scots, if left to themselves, would have brought the country to a still more evil pass. "Our evils would grow more," admits Baillie, "if Cromwell were removed." This was also the opinion of the Scottish Jesuits, who repeatedly emphasized in their letters the fact that the policy of Cromwell was nearly always, perhaps often accidentally, favourable to the Scottish Catholics.³

¹ *Diary of A. Jaffray*, p. 39. He was one of the Commissioners who interviewed King Charles at Breda in 1649.

² Baillie, *Letters and Journals*, III, p. 82.

³ "Cromwell was not, elsewhere than in Ireland, an eager persecutor of Roman Catholics" (F. C. Montague, *Political History of England*, p. 361, London, 1907).

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Father Gall does not give any account of the battle of Dunbar; probably some of his letters have been lost. But on 16th December, 1650, he sends to Rome a good summary of what had taken place in Scotland during the winter of that year. He understood the political situation better than many of his contemporaries, and always insists that Argyle cannot be trusted :—

“ Their [the Scots] army consisting of 18 or 20000 men, marched frome St Johnstoun whether those in the North came to ioyne wt the king, towards Sterling, hence to Queenes ferrie wt unanimous consent & resolution to aggresse Cromwell who endeauouring to gayne the strong castle of neerdy [Niddrie ?] (others say Cramond) which had a strong garrison in it of Scottish, who did euer hold out all this whyle to the reproache of the english, had sent thether somme 4000 men under the conduct of Maior Whalley, whome Straughan & Car haue defaited, hauing taken many prisoners, wt the 4 or 5 peeces of artillery they had, & killed the greater part of the residue, wch affront Cromwell being unable to disgest, & perceiuing himself frustrate of the expectation he had of gayning a strong partie in Scotland, by making proffyte of their intestin iarres & diuisions, finding also great difficultie of getting in the winter season prouisions frome england, want & scarsitie of which hath caused a famine & great mortality amongst his sogers, despairing lykwyse of gayning the castle of Edinburgh by the badde successe of his mynes vented to his own damage by the overthrow of many of his men, & aboue all fearing to be enuironed by the kings Armie surpassing his in number & courage, for a presage and prognosticke of his retreate which its thought he intends to make, he hath putt fyre in the Royall Pallace of holy Rood house, & burned both it and the adiacent Abbey Church,¹ & hath menaced to doe the lyke wt the citty of Edinburgh. If all this which is constantly reported & confirmed by english letters heere, proue true, there may chance a change in matters frome euill to good, & perchance frome the now worst to the best. Yet one thing doe I much apprehende, viz. least Arguylle and his Ministers, not being able to effectuat their projected plot, haue occasioned this combination & approche, to bring this their projected plot to a periede & point, & this

¹ Gardiner says that “ a part of Holyrood Palace was unfortunately destroyed by fire through the carelessness of the soldiers ” (op. cit., I, p. 383). “ On 13th November,” 1650 (Nicoll’s *Diary*, p. 224).

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I feare the more, that now its auerred by all & confessed that the last battaile¹ was lost by meere treachery, vulpes habent foveas. Of the 5000 prisoners takin in the last conflict scarce 500 ar left aliuie, the rest being dead by euil usage in their prisons at Durham church & Newcastle or Barwicke. Thus concerning generalls. . . .”²

King Charles was crowned at Scone on the 1st of January, 1651. It is strange to find a letter from Father Gall antedating the ceremony by at least a whole month. On the 16th December, 1650, he writes :—

“This weekes newes ar that in fine the 3 or 4 parties heeretofore disseuered & diuyded eache frome other in Scotland, since the kings coronation, (which ceremonie was performed last month at St Johnstoun) ar all combyned in one wt resolution to oppose the common enemy. . . .”

Father Gall is usually accurate and reliable; the date of the letter is clearly marked; the difference between the old and new styles of dating cannot account for his mistake. He must have been sent, for some reason not easy to imagine, a false report from a correspondent in Scotland.

There are very few letters from Father Gall during the first half of the year 1651; the gaps in the correspondence are accounted for by Father Christie, who writes on 16th July, that there is “no certane neues from Scotland . . . al passages be sea and land stoped, soe that their is noe commerce of letters nor anything. . . .” Later on in the year, however, Father Gall describes the campaign in Scotland and England as if he had been in constant communication with someone who was taking an active part in operations. His reports are concise, clear, and comprehensive. He is careful to distinguish between mere rumour and information that he believes to be reliable. He shows as a rule an exact appreciation of the political and military situation. He would have made a first-rate war correspondent. No one who has had any experience of the difficulty of collecting military intelligence, especially at a distance from the seat of war, will find it easy to believe that the war news in Father Gall’s letters was merely the result of putting together all the

¹ Dunbar.

² The General Assembly sent envoys to the English Parliament “to present the lamentable condition of prisoners in England and to petition for some effectual course for a remedy” (*General Assembly Records, Scottish Hist. Society*. III, p. 137, Edinburgh, 1909).

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gossip current at Douai or Paris. About a month after the Scottish army left Stirling on its march to Worcester, Father Gall knew its numerical strength. He wrote on the 8th of September, 1651, that the king had entered into England "wt 14 or 16000 Scotts . . . some 7 or 8000 foote of the choycest. . . ."

Modern historians seem to be in some uncertainty as to the actual size of the King's army. Gardiner preferred Cary's estimate of 20,000¹ to the figure given by Sir James Turner,² who says that "the horse and dragoons might be about 4000, and the foot, as I reckoned them the day they marched from Stirling Park were upwards of 9000." Turner's memory may not have been so much at fault as Gardiner suggests; his figures are almost identical with those given by Father Gall.

In the letters written in the autumn of 1651, Father Gall devotes much space to military news, and on the 8th of September he gives a long account of what had happened to the King's army during the first fortnight of August:—

"First they suffered Crumwell to draw ouer the greater part of his Armie into fyffe, then offered him battell in show and appearance but sounded a suddayne retrans as if they had feared his forces, which emboldening him to runne ouer fyffe towards St Johnston, gaue tyme and opportunity to the king to gett into england wt all his horse & some 7 or 8000 foote of the choycest, in so much that he gayned 4 or 5 dayes aduantage in the marches of the enemie, who followed but slowly, so that the king gott into Lancastershyre without resistance, taking Lancaster and Manchester, receiued sundryes of the Nobility Gentry & commons who came flocking to his Mtie out of Yorkeshyre and all Lancastershyre which obliged him to mak abroad some 5 or 6 dayes at Lancaster untill the enemy gott up wt 8 or 10000 under the conduct of Lambert & Herrison, who did take hold of the bridge of Warington to stoppe thereby the kings passage, but he charging them himself in the front, killed 3000 in the place did take sundry prisoners, & efter some 2000 of the remnant came & offered their seruice to his Mtie. Some say Lambert & Herrison ar both killed, sundry of the cheeffe commanders ar assuredlie. Efter the king marched to Lichefield thence to Warwick wch both he did gayne, his army swelleth daily et crescit eundo. Now he is thought to be within 2 dayes marche of London, where ther is great consternation, so that the Prlmt is retyred

¹ *Memorials of the Great Civil War*, 1646-52.

² *Memoirs of his own Life and Times*, 1632-70.

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to sitt in the tower. They haue sent Farfax or some els wt 100000 men agaynst the king. Crumwell is comme to London by sea, his army marcheth into england by Berwicke, the arriere of which is sore beaten & much dimished by the prowesse of my lord Marques of Huntly & Gen. Ma. Middleton wt 8 or 10000 of our Scotts left behinde the king to that purpose. . . .”

The news of the King's defeat at Worcester on 3rd September reached Douai exactly twenty days after.¹ Father Christie, on 24th September, wrote the following graphic paragraph in his letter to Rome:—

“Neues are come yesternight that his army, or a pairt theirof is defeate, that theirfor bonefires in London, and the Parliament ships before Dunkerk uith canon did confirm those neues, and declare their ioy. God his holy uil be done, who doe dispone al to his glory, and the good of soules. One Monck doe rage in fife, and al those pairts uith his uictorious army. Our couenanters as sheep, killed, fleeing away. . . .”

In this letter Father Christie speaks of the King on his entry into England “lodging in Catholique houses, releasing preests out of prisonnes as he uent.” I can find no confirmation of this statement in any printed record, and, if it is true, it does more credit to the King's heart than to his head. Such a practical demonstration of sympathy for the Catholics must have cost him many adherents in the midlands and south of England.

The longest of all Father Gall's letters was written on the 10th November, 1651. It contains a full account of what happened in Scotland after the departure of the King's army, and concludes with a long story of the King's escape. The writing covers four sheets quarto size, is very minute and often difficult to read:—

“For now our poore cuntrey is redacted to the extremity of seruitude. Maior Monke wt somme 300 horse & one 1000 foote did take in Sterlin, S. Johnston by composition, Dundy by assault putting 600 wt the gouernour to the sword,² &

¹ The news arrived in Paris on the 22nd September (*Diary of John Evelyn*, II, p. 42, London, 1906).

² These figures are also those of other contemporary records. Lamont's *Diary* says that the number of killed “towns people and strangers” amounted “to 5 or 6 hundred” (p. 42, Edinburgh, 1810). Hill Burton on sentimental grounds discredits the story of a Dundee massacre (*History of Scotland*, Vol. VII, p. 42, Edinburgh, 1905).

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gaying the wholle riches of Edenburgh conveyed thether, plundering that citty & thus subduing all Stratherne, Menteith, Angus, cars of Goury, Mearnes. St Andreues yielded, as also all the coast townes of fyffe. Aberdene sent to compone & received 300 men in garrison, in a word this Monke wt this handefull of men hath subdued all the playne cuntrey euen till Blaknesse, which the report is he is now actually beseeing by sea & land hauing a full resolution to subdue all to the point of Cathnesse, & then giue the chasse to the two Marquesses of Huntley & Argyle, the onely remnant of the ruyned Nobilitie, who haue beene forced to betake themselves to the hills and highelands.

"All this this Maior G. Monke effectuated whills the king wt his armie of 15000 men was into england, these 10 or 12000 his Mtie left to oppose him loosing both hart & hand, conduct & courage, lyke dastardlie cowards commanded then by the Bastard Lesley, whome 500 of the english did take prisoner at elliot of Angus wt the lords Marishall, lindsay craffoord, ogilbie & 50 more gentilmen and Barons, whills their commerrads were storming Dundy. Of late the English haue sent one M. Gen. Deane to assist Moncke wt 8000 men to subdue the rest of Scotland & garrison the townes they detayne, & thus our couenanting & therefor cursed cuntrey, which heretofore did chasse away Monckes & Deanes, at the entrey of Heresie, is lyke to be conquered by a Monke & a Deane by a memorable destinie & fatalitie, in a word, furious & fyrie Caluinisme which creept into that kingdome by Knox, by knockes of Independents is lyke to be cryed downe. The drift of the English is to destroye the whole Nobility & Gentry, & erect a commonwealth subiect to that of England, yet so that that of Ireland must be named first, and the Scotts, quytting the Name of Scott, take that of English, as being conquered by them ;¹

Scotia moesta dole propria jam perdita prole,
Non possunt scribi damna futura tibi. etc.

But now to come to the King's escape. . . ."

There are five versions of the story of King Charles' escape after Worcester, and they are all different, in many respects, from that told by Father Gall.² On arriving in France he is said to have given several erroneous accounts of

¹ "Parliament at first contemplated no less than the complete annexation of Scotland as a conquered province" (Sanford Terry, *The Cromwellian Union*, p. xvii, Edinburgh, 1902).

² Allan Fea, *The Flight of the King*, London, 1897.

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his adventures intentionally to deceive the spies, who always swarmed around exiles on the Continent, and so protect the friends who had risked their lives and property for him while he was a fugitive in England. I think it probable that the story told by Father Gall, if not taken directly from the King himself, is at any rate the one he told to his mother immediately on his arrival. She was on terms of intimate friendship with the Scottish Jesuit Fathers, and would naturally have passed the news on to them. In many important points this account does not agree with that given by the King ten years later. Yet the statement that the King witnessed the triumphal entry of Cromwell into London can scarcely be an invention, and it is in favour of Father Gall's version that no details are given which could compromise any of those who had assisted the King. At any rate the story preserved by Father Gall is the earliest version, and, as told by him, has probably lost none of its original vividness. Whether it be accurate or not, it is a piece of excellent narrative:—

“Cromwell hauing landed 8000 of his men in fyffe, intending to runne ouer & ruyne that shyre the goodliest of the kingdome, or force the king to a conflict, the king at Sterling calling a councell of warre & state, desyred their aduyce concerning his resolution to enter into england wt 20000, thus to oblige Crumwell to leaue Scotland & think of defending england wt his armie. The whole Scotts Nobility & commanders (sauing only Arguyle, Laudun, Lothian & some fewe more), opposed much the marche into england, & voted for giuing rather battell to the enemy in Scotland, & that euen then befor his whole armie could be united, it then being almost equally deuyded, the one part consisting in lothian, the other and smaller in fyffe. Yet the king his eaggernesse and earnest desyre to inuade england, producing a great many letters frome the most part of the Noblemen & Barons of England inuiting him thether wt promise to ioine wt him at his entrey, & assuring him a great many of the citties corporations were totally for his Mtie as groaning under the heauy yock of tyrannicall seruitude, & aspiring to returne to the sweet scepter & gouernement of one sole soueraigne, carryed it away, so that wt 15000 in all of the choycest of 26000 (which was the number of his armie then) of which some 5000 were horsemen, the 15 of August he marched towards england, without resistance euen till his arryual at Warrinton bridge, marched efter the defeat he gaue ther to

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Lambert, towards Worcester, where Crumwell wt all the trayne bands of england & a great part of his owne Armie encountered him wt 60000. The Scotts, according to the kings owne relation, did fight the space of 4 howers most couragiously, but the english redoubling euer wt freshe men, powdre fayling in the Scotts armie wearyed also efter a long marche, one of the winges of their horses beginning to flie, a great consternation arryued amongst the rest, on which the english taking courage gott the aduantage, so that the Scotts horse retraits for to rescue the kings person, the foote being thus deserted, & wanting powder, were driuen to aske quarters, & thus were takin Prisoners. The king suspecting the enemy would pursue the horsemen in their retrayte, resolved to lett his baggage go wt them, but he himself wold not, but withdrawing himself allone in a disaguysed simple sojers apparell, under fauour of the gloming or night, did betake himself to the cottage of a poore cuntreyman of whome he demanded and gott shelter, and perceiuing by the poore mans discourse that he was royalist & affected the king, he priuatly discovered himself to him, at which the good poore man falling downe at his Mties feete, did homage unto him wt teares, but apprehending Crumwells souldiers who were searching all ower the cuntrey, would not leaue his cottage unsearched, aduysed his Mtie to go allongst wt him to a Catholick gentlemans house not far distant, & so they two all alone passing thorough a little forrest one the way were espyed by a trooper of Crumwell, who looking starelly into the kings visage did seeme to know him, but either mistrusting himself, or fearing some ambush, spurring his horse did ryde swiftly away, thinking to ensnare & catche him wt a greater partie of his commerades who were lying or bayting in the next village. The guyde apprehending danger counselled the king to climbe up efter him to the toppe of a highe bushie tree, in the branches of which eache of them did hyde themselues, but not without feare & trembling, for soone efter they had made their nest, came a great troope of birds of prey, conducted by the trooper had espyed them first, beating the bushes & searching them narrowlie, but such was the prouidence of God that they neuer looket up to espie them. They being gon at last, the good poore man descending gott to his house & brought some vitalls to his Mtie, who stayed lurking thus in that forest some 2 or 3 dayes space untill Crumwells armies marcht, efter which in the night he stept allongst towards the Catholike gentlemans house, where he was priuatly receiued

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wt all demonstrations of respect, but in publick of purpose misregarded as a poore sojer of Crumwells runne away frome his colours, dyeling wt the seruants. In fine the gentlewoman Mistris of the house, a good Catholicke, resolved the onely securest waye to saue the king was to go to london where he might lurke & lye darned more easilie then in any other part of the cuntrey, & thus resolved eniourned for london, she ryding on horsebak, and the king befor her hauing besmeared his visage to discountenance & couer himself the more, but their misfortune was to encounter by the way, the gentlewomans Brother a Crumwellian caualier, & roundhead, who approaching and perceiuing his sister, demanded whether she was going, & why she had takin such a greasie fellowe or cuntrey clowne to conduct her. She replied her husband had fallen into a dangerous fitt of colicke, & thus that she was going to london to finde out one of her acquaintance who had a soueraigne remedy for it, & that her guyde was a poore lame sojer of Crumwells unable to marche on foote allongst wt the armie. Her brother willed her to returne assuring he would restore his brother to health wt a cup of goode sacke and sugger, wch she told him she had tryed more than once without successe, so desyred him to repayre to her house, promising to return speedely frome london wt the remedie for her husband whome she desyred him to entertayne in the meanewhyle.

“ Thus they rode towards london where being arryued she conueyed the king to a catholicke house where he was receiued wt great ioye & well entertayned, going for 8 or 10 dayes space frome one catholick house to another to auoide suspicion & danger, nay report flying that the king was not wt the Scotts but lying darned in some corner of england & probably in london, searche and exact scrutinie was made eurywhere euen in london itself, where many suspected houses were searched most narrowlie, so that the king was forced to hyde & retyre himself into two or 3 seuerall catches or priuat retyring parts in which english catholickes use to hyde preests and masse graith, whills they feare the search of Pursuiuants. He did see many of his friends priuately, & did behold also the triumphant entrey which Crumwell made into the citty efter the victory. Finally resolved it was that he should goe himself in course apparell as a merchants seruant & transact wt a Master of some ship to gett ouer into fr. or flanders, alledging his Masters correspondant had played the bankrupt. But his misfortune was such that the first Mariner he addressed

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himself to did presentlie know him & tell him in the eare he was the king, yet assured he wold saue him, not himself, but by another of his friends who had neither wyffe nor children duelling in london, as he had. So they agreed upon condition the king should reueal to non the name of either of the mariners, nor where he had shipt or was sett ashoare. Thus the king, accompanied only wt my lord Willmot, arryued on this coast, where not knowne, but being arryued at Rouen he sent word to the Queene who wt the Duk of Orleans her brother and Duke of Yorke went 3 myles hence to meete him where she embraced him wt teares of ioye. He is in perfyte good health and uery sensible of the seruice done to him by Catholikes in this his escape.

“I went with Fr. Spreul to kiss his hands & congratulat his so happy escape. My speech was that I doubted not but God had preserued him to become both Catholike himself, and restore catholik Religion in Scotland where frome king Donald to his grandfather all the kings his predecessours were most zealous catholikes, & that he carryed a part of that most illustrious blood in his veynes which his great grandmother Queene Marie shed for catholike religion, hauing lost 4 earthely crownes to gayne the heauenly of Martyrdoome; that he might be pleased to reflect how his royall familie was persecuted by God & Man euer since heresie creapt into it, that his father hauing employed Protestants, himself Presbyterians, to regayne his throne & scepter God would accept of neither, reseruing as it seemed that honour to catholickes. His Mtie replied that he acknowledged him so far obliged to our Scotts catholicks who spent their blood for him in the battell, or were takin prisoners, & to those of england who saued him in his escape, that his greatest passion was to liue to wittnesse to the world the esteeme he had of their loyaltie & fidelity. . . . Robert Gall.”

On the 24th November, 1651, Father Gall concludes his history of the Scots campaign with a last despondent summary of news, written as always in his compact yet graphic manner:—

“Fr. Robert Gall to Fr Andrew Leslie Nov. 24th, 1651.

“I wrot to yr R. at full length the 20 of this, about our king his escape & arryuall hether. since nothing hath fallen out of moment, sauing this wch I surioyne. the english Parliant hath caused execute the earle of derby condemned by a councell of warre for hauing ioyned forces wt the king

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at his entrey into Lancastershyre, our Scotts prisoners ar yet all in the tower, or at Worcester or Manchester especially those of any Note, as the earles of Rothes Laderdaile, Lindsey, Lords Ogilby, Stclar, Pasley, Mordington (whose seconde sone is killed, the eldest incertayne if killed or takin prisoner.) in a word such was in this unhappy encounter the fatality of our neuer cursed till caluinisticall or couenanteeing cuntrey, that of 15 or 16000 men the most warlicke of the whole Nation who entered into england wt the king, not one of any quality hath escapt sauuing the king himself, nay scarce a 100 of common sogers, a great part of wch were killed, others takin prisoners ar basely used,¹ & sold as slaues or sent to America. The word is heere that Arguyle hath sent a trupeter to the gouernour of Sterlin to demande a parley, so its surmised he will kyth shortly in his owne colours of coosenage & treachery.² M. Huntley stands out, but so as retyred to the hills & highelands accompanied only wt 1800 or 2000. the earle of Arroll wt the Forbeses & those of Cathnes, Rosse & Sutherland will make very neere as many or not much more, & this is all the party resting in Scotland for the king. all others come in or enter daily in confederation & league wt the english for the erecting of a New Commonwealth, or rather common pouerty in that cuntrey. The Prlmt hath sent downe Lambert, Ma. Deane & other 6 to whome wt 6000 sogers more full power is giuen by the Commonwealth of england, to finish the conqueast of Scotland, & settle the new gouernement, & dispose of the estaites of prisoners, & others entered into england wt the king. Their drift is to extirpate all Nobility & establish a commonwealth subiect to that of England."

Now that the King was safely landed in France, the interest of the Jesuit Fathers, both at Douai and Paris, shifted from Scottish military affairs to the problem of his religion. That

¹ On 1st December, 1651, Father Gall writes: "The gentlemen prisoners ar used as ill and basely as the most simple soger, going barefoot & bareheaded, used lyke very slaues, getting nothing but browne blak breade sparingly & water, the english call them hoggs piggs & doggs. many of them dye of misery & ar buried ere they be fully dead wtout compassion. the cursed couenant is the cause of this barbarous cruelty."

² A year later, on the 4th December, 1652, Father James Anderson wrote from Brussels to Father Adam Gordon at Rome: "It is written that the Marquis off Argyll was abused in the common street of Eddin-burgh by the kelwyfs and pudding-wyfs etc. crying owt, traitor thow hes killed on king, and banished ane other."

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he secretly became a Catholic at some period of his exile is, according to Acton, almost beyond doubt.¹ But the secret was well kept. His attitude towards religion during his exile has been frequently discussed by historians. The evidence of Father Christie and Father Gall, two acute men who knew the king personally and were watching him closely, shows that during the first few years after his escape from England he gave no sign of any leanings towards the Catholic faith. Rumours of the King's conversion were started by the spies, who surrounded him wherever he went, and were encouraged in England, where the Government realised that the best way to make the exiled monarch unpopular was to say that he had turned papist. The report that he was about to become a Catholic obtained general currency in London. "There is great probability that he will turn Romish Catholique,"² said the semi-official news-sheet. Shortly after the new year a spy wrote to Thurloe:—

"Upon Thursday last Charles Stuart and his fraternity went to pass away the afternoon at the Jesuits of St Antony's Street, and under pretence of the feast of New Years day he did begin to contribute to the service of idols, which discovers more and more the baseness of their hearts."³

The tale of the King's conversion spread no doubt to Scotland long before 1656, when the pious Brodie of Brodie wrote in his Diary: "I heard that the King was turned papist, and mentioned it to God."⁴

The Jesuit Fathers worked hard for the King's conversion, and the tone of their letters shows that at times they were confident of success. On 24th November, 1651, Father Gall writes:—

"I see no appearance yet of his becoming catholick, for none ar about him but Ministers, protestants & Purytaines, all Catholikes & Scotts ar excluded, & yet Scotts sett the crowne once on his royall head, which I feare the english shall neuer doe. I tell them heere that if the king would turne

¹ Acton (*Secret History of Charles II*), in *Historical Essays and Studies*, London, 1907. On the other hand, Lister (*Life of Clarendon*, Vol. I, p. 397) does not believe that he became a Catholic until he was received, on his death-bed, by Father Hudleston.

² *Severall Proceedings*, etc., April, 1653.

³ Thurloe, *State Papers*, I, p. 622.

⁴ *Diary of Brodie*, p. 71.

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catholike & make a cruissade intending to sett up the right worship & fayth, God undoubtedly would reestablish him in his throne.”

The following month Father Gall was in a more optimistic mood, perhaps some of the Fathers had spoken to the King and had received, as usual, an accommodating promise. On 1st December he reports :—

“ Our king heere is well disposed of a most tractable & hopefull nature, & inclination. Wee ar in hopes he shall turne catholike, & for effectuating this ar framing a Remonstrance¹ to be presented to his Mtie. pray for him earnestly. Ther is somme preparation of a matche tuix him & Madlle but keepe this to yrself.”

Mlle. de Montpensier, cousin of Louis XIV, would no doubt have liked very well to be Queen of England, but with a Catholic wife King Charles would have had small chance of ever sitting on his throne. In her *Mémoires* she says that she asked the King in 1651 if he would become a Catholic, and that he replied “ that he would do anything for me ; that to sacrifice to me his conscience and his salvation it would be necessary that I give him the undertaking he had so often spoken about, and that for less than that he would do nothing.”² Whatever he may have said to Mlle., it is certain that the King never had the slightest intention of risking his chance to recover his throne, either by publicly professing the Catholic religion, or, what was equally dangerous at this moment, by marrying a Catholic wife.

This was soon realised by Father Gall, who writes on 22nd December that “ the kings matche with Madlle is not lyke to go on. . . . The king is cheerefull but no Scotts nor Catholike about him.” He had small reason to be cheerful ; only twenty-one years of age, he had already lost a kingdom, and Montrose, his best friend. He had not the temperament which finds in religion a consolation for misfortune. But he did not wish to make any more enemies, and would naturally speak as pleasantly to the Jesuit Fathers as he had spoken to the ministers at Breda. A practical move towards his con-

¹ *Remonstrance faite au Charles II, Roy de la grande Bretagne. Paris, 1652.* By Robert Menteith de Salmonet. (Copy in National Library, Edinburgh.)

² *Mémoires de Mlle. de Montpensier*, II, p. 151. Does this speech constitute a conditional promise of marriage ?

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version was suggested by Father Spreul¹ in a letter written from Paris on 2nd August, 1652, to Father Adam Gordon at the Scots College, Rome :—

“Wee had goode hopes of our kings conuersion, who was pleased unto myselfe to speake most freely in that kynde, but beeing reteared from hence by reason of the troubles to St Germaine en Lay, & haueing most wicked Heretiques aboute him, their be lesse hopes then before, the popes Zeale might gaine him wt his liberality in a princes extreame indigenci, why is not this proposed ?”

There is little doubt that the King would have listened readily to such a proposal, but the trouble was that no one would trust him. According to the rumours current in London, negotiations were already in progress during 1651 for negotiating the King's conversion on a financial basis :—

“His mother the late Queen is very busie with some fryers about some monies which she importunes them to raise for her son, assuring them of his resolution, if ever it comes into his hands, to promote the Catholique Romish religion” (*Special Proceedings*, Num. 172, January, 1652).

Gardiner says that the King actually offered to become a Catholic “if only the Pope would make it worth his while. Innocent X, however, refused to accept a convert who demanded a price.”² Among the papers found on Cardinal de Retz at the time of his arrest in 1652, was a letter from the King of England, who had asked him “to try from the direction of Rome if some financial assistance could not be given him.”³ In March the King, who had been living on credit for several months, left Paris, and was reported, as Father Gall writes, to have gone to Rome :—

“March 8th 1652, to Father A. Gordon, Rome.

“Our king of G. Britanny is they say to depart hence

¹ In the papers of Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State to the King, there is a letter, dated from Paris, October, 1654, which contains a reference to the activities of Father Spreul in connection with the attempt to convert the King's brother. “Sir George Radcliff . . . having been yesterday att the Jesuits Colledge of Clermound to visit father Spruile, a Scotchman, he found his chamber full of masons and carpenters, who told him the owner was removed, but could not tell him whither, which constrained him to knock at a neighbors lodging, who without scruple told him why he was removed saying it was to prepare an apartement for the Du. of Gloucester” (*Nicholas Papers*, Vol. II, p. 110, Camden Society, 1892).

² *History of the Commonwealth*, II, p. 95.

³ *Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz*, III, p. 226.

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shortly, some say to Holland to his sister, others to the prince paldin his cusin. Some say towards yr quarters, but this I beleue not, his counsellors ar all english & hereticks, no more hopes of his matche wt Madlle, & scarce any of his conuersion, for I see no efficacious meanes taken for it."

Efficacious means were, however, in preparation. Two years later Père Olier, founder of the Seminary of S. Sulpice, was holding private conferences with the King, and it is almost certain that he was secretly received in 1655.¹ The secret was known only to three or four people, one of whom, says Burnet, was Cardinal de Retz.²

At the beginning of the year 1652 the situation in Scotland had become much easier for the Catholics. Father Gall writes on 26th January, from Paris to Rome:—

"I had letters from F. Macbreck out of Edenburgh who wreates that the english albeit sollicitated much by the Ministers, refuse to molest our catholikes those especially who did not take armes & inuade england, nay they haue published that no man shalbe debarred frome his estate or goods becaus heeretofore excommunicat, which pretended censure wt its annexed penalties they haue abrogated, or declared of no effect. . . . They haue remoued or silenced sundryes of the most seditious & incendiarie Ministers, & their sogers or commanders do preache publickely themselues. They intende to place english Ministers in the most part of the Boroughe touns, alleading the Scotts Ministers to be too seditious. They ar to keepe 20000 english sogers still in Scotland, which the cuntrey must concurre to paye by a common contribution, they ar framing new lawes, & for Religion some ar of opinion they will doe as in Holland, permitte all sorts. . . . If this calme continue wee shall haue greater store of Catholikes then euer since the hereticall rupture & schisme, the greatest Puritaynes heertofore enclyning now much that waye, disgusted much at their Ministers treachery & periurye . . . our king is heere still under conference they say, yet goes meekely to the common prayer & Preaching in Sr. Richard Brownes his resident heere." ³

¹ Michel Faillon, *Vie de M. Olier*, Vol. II, pp. 320, 334, Paris, 1873. On this occasion there was no question of a financial bargain.

² Burnet, *History of my Own Times*, I, p. 126.

³ Owing to the extreme poverty of the King and his adherents there was not sufficient money to pay the rent of this house, and in January, 1653, the landlord threatened proceedings (see Eva Scott, *The King in Exile*, p. 434, London, 1905).

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During the next few months of the year 1652, Father Gall continued to report that affairs in Scotland were more and more favourable for the Catholics. In his letter of 8th March he says :—

“The english commonwealth is waxing daily strong, they haue fyned Scotland to 14000 sterlin yearely & will impouerish it so that it will neuer thinke more of reuolting. The only good is that hetherto they trooble not Catholikes, & scoffe at Presbyterians whome they intende to roote out, they haue curbed the Ministers soundly. . . . Scotland is in a casse most miserable, most poore & most pittifull. Yr students ther ar infinitely happy to be out of it. . . .”

On 23rd May he continues in the same strain :—

“The Nobles & Gentry (in Scotland) ar mightely holden at under, the Ministers ar still deposing & excommunicating one another, thus no persecution for the present agaynst Catholikes. . . .”

And in September he writes that (our Fathers are) :—

“. . . enioying for the present a quyet & gentle calme . . . the pouerty of that cuntrey is incredible. The English (who hold it for a conquished cuntrey) haue taxed eury feu holder to paye 40 of eache 100, & ar to giue full power agayne Martimasse next to all Merchands & creditores, to whom any of the Gentry or Nobility ar endebted, to compryle their lands & tak seizing yrof, if they be not satisfied before that tyme, wch is morally speaking impossible. they ar erecting forts in all seaports, & subduing the most remote & inaccessible parts of the highelands, & presse men for to serue in their nauall armie which they ar rigging out agaynst the Hollanders, who hold in their hornes & gayne pryse on them frequently.”¹

¹ In a letter, dated from Paris, 15th March, 1653, Father Gall gives a brief account of a “mayne naumachia or seafight” between the English and the Dutch :—

“Some 30 shippes were sunck on both syds, sundryes takin, yet the Hollanders had the victory remayning Mrs of the seaes & hauing saued all their merchant shippes sauing 3 or 4, & forced the english to retyre first. Trumpe who commanded the Hollanders Nauie is sone o a Scotts-man & hath wreatin the Newes of the defait giuen by him to the english to our King heere. . . .”

An inquirer in *Scottish Notes and Queries* (Vol. XII, p. 14, July. 1898) points out that in Gordon's *History of Scots Affairs* it is said that Admiral Van Tromp was the son of a Scottish father, and that this statement is contradicted

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But in October he announces a renewal of persecution :—

“October 23. 1652. All our poore catholikes ar so impouerished that of them they [*i.e.* the Jesuit Fathers] can expect no temporall relieffe, why they must giue them rather out of charity wherewith to supplie their extreame indigency. . . . Our Nobility is quyte ruyned and the whole cuntrey oppressed by the english, who now recommence to suffer the Ministers to persecute our poore catholikes. . . .”

In 1653 the letters from Scotland foretell that the small respite the Catholics had gained from the intervention of Cromwell in Scottish affairs was soon to come to an end. On 17th January, Father Gall writes to Father Adam Gordon, now Rector of the Scots College, Rome, with whom he had some difference of opinion as to the College accounts :—

“I haue yours of 24 of December, it being a peece more replenished wt Gall then Gordon, I will not retaste nor ruminare it, far lesse replie to eache particular point. . . . No newes from Brittany but great fears & apprehension of a cruell persecution agaynst all Catholikes bycaus of an forme of abiuration of the heads of our Religion, wch the Prlmt they say hath compyled & is resolved to present to eache Catholike in these 3 dominions.”

He continues on 15th March :—

“Great appearance of a huige persecution, the Presbyterians being masters in all Britany who ar our mortall enemies, they haue passed an act of Prlmt for Jesuits & all priests to remoue out of Britany under payne of death without remission, & menace to exyle all catholikes out of the cuntrey & seize on their estates & take frome them their children to be educated in heresie. . . .”

In the spring of the year a more favourable rumour was abroad, but Father Gall rightly gave it small credit :—

“The English heere,” he writes on 16th May, “ar of opinion that shortly he [Cromwell] will giue liberty of consciences euen to catholikes, sed vix ego credo. . . . What of the condemnation of the Jansenists ? . . .”

“in all the biographies of the great Dutchman.” A reply to this inquiry, given in the same volume, p. 31, says “there can be little doubt the parson of Rothiemay [Gordon] was led astray . . . regarding the nationality of Marten Harpertszoon van Tromp. . . .” The independent evidence of Father Gall suggests that perhaps the Parson of Rothiemay was right.

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In June, Father Gall was now preparing for a journey to Scotland. As far back as 2nd January, 1650, he had written to Rome, asking to be relieved of his post at Douai and to be sent back "to the land of bannocks;" so he was probably eager to return home, although Father Christie says, in May, 1653: "I receive a letter from Father Gall, who seems not to haue a great mind for Scotland." That country, with its "huige persecution," had perhaps suddenly become less inviting. However, unwilling or not, Father Gall writes his last letter from Paris to Rome on the 4th July, 1653:—

"These ar to take my leaue of yr R. & desyre you to perswade yourself that I shall omitte no care in procuring able youths for yr college, & haue desyred Father R. Browne my successor heere to do the lyke . . . nowe agane I earnestly beseeche youe not to call in question what yr predecessor & I concluded concerning bypast debtes and comptes. . . . I depart hence within 3 or 4 dayes God willing."

On 5th September, Father Richard Browne, Procurator at Clermont College, Paris, wrote as follows to the Rector at Rome:—

"Father Gall departed from hence the 14 of July towards Rouen and Diepe, whair he tooke shippe the 22, but efter he had sayled 7 or 8 leagues with a fauourable wind, he and his companie war so narrowlie pursued by ane Ostender, that they war forced to cumme back to the coast of France, dryuen also thither by a North contrarie wind. Two other barks war boorded by the Ostender, and the passengers all robbed to the verie shirtes. From Diepe the Father went to Calais, whair he tooke shippe for the second tyme, and wrott to me from London the 13 of Agust. Since that tyme I haue had no letters from him. . . ."

Once he had settled down in Scotland, Father Gall wrote frequently to the Fathers at Douai and Paris, but unfortunately few of these letters are now in the Blairs collection. There is a letter, however, from Father James Macbrek, written from Paris to Rome, on 25th September, 1654, in which he quotes from Father Gall a short and characteristic paragraph, giving his impressions on arriving in the "land of bannocks":—

"F. Gal wretteth this to ours of Douay. I can not expres the mannifold miseries of this poure land. much

P. C. G. R. in dearest Father,

I had you of the 26. of May & wd I act used to have late
week & at 10 I send you an answer from M^r Sanderson all con-
cerning his service, wd I hope with more joy to stay & finish his
studies in yr college. for w^{ch} day I have made plans for you if called
in yr college he will have a more, or less will give you R. all satisfaction
but his nephew the one who is from the gentleman as on two
years spent at York wd if you get permission for you to do so I
put no farther but you will profit for a later time not in
graduate school for you I am so busied in preparing my self
for my journey to the Continent & as I do not have to move
in his presence, but wd I shall do my best by Providence
to get you to the place of your studies, not a distance.
I am glad you to have given you all interest in the
theology, & also in the study of the Bible & the
scriptures, for to you it is the only way to the
a future of the world is the most important matter, for And then
we R. wd we can be doing an important thing for the world
and then a great work will be done a slight for the
a great work, but is a word of the right hand.
I hope you will my best for you to yr R. give quickly
I believe the service will be for Ireland yet another year
my desire to f. R. wd Brown my son-in-law I have written
you this way, over 400 H. and my best wishes for you
if I should ever be able to see you I wd have done
just as much, but to have at home is a matter of more than
to be to you. I know all of you & your of the need.
of f. Marked I move to R. & f. Spence & my best
wishes. for by way of R. to you & a meeting my
best wishes for the service of the world, to f. R. wd
f. R. wd f. Spence, my best wishes, & all of you & of you
and only for, I believe to be one of the best

R. Gall

your R. wd most affly, service

R. Gall

I was to go of early morning or later
to the best information accordingly
of f. Brown

I was of 20 of Jan. 1833.
in your father.

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burning and killing in cold blood on both syds. the Englishe hath built a fort in Badenoch, and another in Lochaber. This yearis croke is not very hopfoul. Tertian aigus are most frequent & ordinary; sundries go stark mad in euery shyre of the countrie. Our ministers rayle in pulpitt on against another, he condemning him for preaching damnabil doctrine, & eache condemning another for dissimulation and dangerous practises; nothing heere but a chaos of confusion; and with all great powertie in the land; neuer had the mission [more] need both of temporal & spirital helpe."

CHAPTER II

THE SCOTS COLLEGES ABROAD—THE JESUITS AT DOUAI AND PARIS

The education of Catholic children in the seventeenth century ; foundation of the Scots College, Douai—The Staff at Douai in 1650—A Scot from Strathbogie and the frogs of Maubeuge—Financial troubles of the College—Father William Christie ; his character and literary style—News from the battlefields of Flanders—Clermont College ; the Scottish colony in Paris—Condition of Catholics in Scotland—Rivalry of the Jesuits and Seculars.

I

IN the middle of the seventeenth century the Jesuit Fathers already owned on the Continent nearly four hundred schools. The efficiency of their scholastic method was universally recognised, and their success in teaching and moral discipline was admitted even by their most determined enemies. The best schools in Europe were those directed by the Jesuits.

In Scotland, however, the word "education" still had the peculiar significance it had acquired at the Reformation. The text of successive Education Acts emphasises the sectarian policy of the governing Kirk ; the parish schools, which had been destroyed by the action, if not by the intention, of Knox and his contemporaries, were to be restored in order that "the trew religion be advanceit and establisheit in all the pairtis of this kingdome."¹ What this meant in practice was that the youth of Scotland could not learn to read and write without at the same time absorbing the new dogma, that all Papists were idolaters, and the Pope the Man of Sin.

The few Catholics in Scotland who were in a position to defy the law, and could afford to send their children abroad, preferred to place them under the care of Scottish teachers. Thus the College at Douai,² which had originally been founded

¹ Act, 10th December 1616. (*Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, Vol. X, 1st Series, p. 671.)

² In 1576, James Cheyne, of Arnage, a Scottish secular priest, founded at Tournay the College which, after many migrations, finally settled at Douai about 1612. In addition to the funds provided by the founder, the College

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for the training of ecclesiastical students, was compelled by force of circumstances to undertake also the education of a few Scottish boys, who did not intend to take Holy Orders. The difficulties imposed upon Scottish parents who wished to give their boys a Catholic education are clearly shown in the following letter written by the Commissioners of the General Assembly to Lord Mordingtoun :—

“ MY LORD,

“ Understanding that your Lordship have sent some of your children out of this Kingdome, without warrand, either from Kirke or State, contraire to the Acts of both ; and it being a dutie lying upon us to see the education of the children of so noble a family as your Lordships in the true Religion professed in this Kirke, who in other kingdoms may be poysoned with Poperie or other errors and heresies. Therefore we desire your Lordship to return your children to this Kingdome betwixt this and the first of Maii next, under the paine of Excommunication, whereunto we will appoint the Presbyterie forthwith to proceed against you, in case of your failing herein. We have no more to say but remain,

“ your Lordships affectionate friends and servants in the Lord

“ The Commissioners of the General Assembly.

“ Edinburgh 3. Jan. 1650.”

James Douglas, the eleven-years-old son of Lord Mordingtoun,¹ had arrived at Douai on 28th April, 1649. The Diary says

received assistance from Queen Mary of Scotland. The foundation was afterwards augmented by contributions from various sources. Among the contributors was Mr Thomas Meldrum, Precentor of the Cathedral of Aberdeen, who “endowed with 87 florins four bursaries in the seminary of the Scotch at Douay . . . which he directed should be returned to the University of Aberdeen on the restoration of the Catholic religion in Scotland” (*Scotichronicon*, Vol. IV, p. 90). In 1597 the College had been formally placed under the administration of the Jesuit Fathers by Pope Clement VIII, and the Society subsequently claimed a proprietary right to the College on the strength of a substantial endowment bequeathed in 1618 by Father Hippolyte Curle, S.J., son of Gilbert Curle, secretary to Queen Mary.

¹ James Douglas, created Lord Mordingtoun in 1641. In spite of persecution the family refused to give up their faith. Three grandsons of Lord James went to Douai in 1667 :—William, who went to Rome in 1674 and afterwards entered the Congregation of the Oratory, Francis, who became a Jesuit, and James, the eldest, who succeeded his father as 3rd Lord Mordingtoun (W. Fraser, *The Douglas Book*, Vol. II, p. 410).

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that he returned to his parents "ineptus ad studia." It was probably not considered safe to mention the real reason for his leaving. The truth is that Mordingtoun had been obliged to yield to the Scottish Inquisition. This is evident from a letter written by Father Christie in 1650 :—

"Morginton writs 2 letteres to Mr Leith,¹ that he was charged under such penalty to recal his sone to be educat in the schooles at home theirfor desired him to try uhair he is (uich doe appeare to gull the ministeres) and caus him be sent bak, if not he wil acknowledge no thing to be payed for his maintenance."

Hardly anything has been written about the interior history of the Jesuit Colleges at Douai and Paris during the seventeenth century, and very little is known of the difficulties against which they had to contend or the problems they had to solve. A great deal of information on this subject is contained in the letters now at Blairs. The Jesuit Fathers at Douai were particularly anxious to preserve the national characteristics of the College ; they were determined to maintain it as a really Scottish school, staffed by Scottish teachers. But it was by no means an easy matter to keep the little Scottish colony intact. The Scottish Jesuits obtained little assistance or sympathy from their foreign brethren, some of whom were desirous of getting the College into their own hands. Father Macbrek, writing to Rome from Paris on 22nd October, 1655, insists upon the urgency of appointing a Scotsman to succeed Father James Anderson, whose term of office as Rector was about to expire :—

"For the Wallons ² wil indeuoir to haue one of thers there to succaied, which wil be the greater destruction of that poure college, and contry gentilmen loth to send thether ther childring."

The number of boys at Douai is given by Father Gall as 17 in June, 1649, 15 in February, 1650. Father Christie wrote on 31st March, 1659, "at this present we be 20 in familie." It is probable that there was also a preparatory class for small boys whose names were not entered in the register, for Father Gall, writing in June, 1649, mentions the name of Aloysius, which does not occur as a Christian name in the *Douai Diary* for that year :—

¹ Then Principal of the Scots College, Paris.

² The Flemish Jesuits.

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“All my little dearest darlings present yr R. wt their best respects & wishes, little Andrew especially & Aloysius.”¹

The College Staff at that time consisted of three Jesuit Fathers; Robert Gall, the Rector; James Anderson, Procurator; William Monteith, Prefect of Studies; and two lay brothers, Robert and Charles. William Monteith came from the diocese of Glasgow as a student to Douai in 1628. The Rome Register states that he left the Scots College there in 1636 to join the Society, worked on the mission in Scotland, and died in England in 1663.²

Hitherto very little has been known about Father James Anderson. His name is not mentioned by either Bellesheim or Forbes Leith. In the *Douai Diary* for the year 1632 he is described as “Bogivallensis,” and it is recorded that he left the College in 1636 and entered the Society at Tours. “All that I can learn of him,” says Oliver, “is that he governed the Scots College at Madrid a very long time.” In the Blairs Papers Father Anderson comes to life again. His home was at Strathbogie, in Aberdeenshire, and his letters show that his heart was there also:—

“F. James Anderson, Douay to F. Adam Gordon, Rome
3. Feb. 1654.

“I ame sory that I ame tethered heer otherwys I should use alle meanes to go to Scotland myself, for wee hear that Catholiks hath mor liberty then this long tym befor. The Marquis of Huntly is dead. . . . I pray God that the nixt Marquis be Catholik also, that wee may drink owr pynt aill in the raws³ with greater freedome and mirrines.”

¹ “Little Andrew” is Andrew Magee, who afterwards became Rector of the Scots College, Rome (1683).

² He was a son of the William Monteith who had been a fellow-prisoner of Father John Ogilvie, S.J., in 1614 (*Sommervogel*, tome V, col. 1244). He wrote a Latin encomium of St Ignatius, *Exegesis Encomiastica*, Rome, 1661. Father Christie, writing in 1655, calls him “the good humanist.” At this time he was collecting notes for a history of the Church in Scotland, which have not been preserved.

³ In the middle ages the town of Huntly went by the name of “The Raws (rows of houses) o’ Strathbogie” (*Castles of Aberdeenshire*, p. 71, Aberdeen, 1887). The following reference is taken from *The Presbytery Book of Strathbogie*, p. 212 (Spalding Club):—

“It was reported this day (24th Sept. 1651) . . . that Mr John Cruikshank . . . ane associat of James Graham . . . had preached publically

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"20 April 1654. I pray yow when is yowr tether to be broke? I suppose ye haue ane yeare and mor as yet. I shall think long till I see yow in the noble rawes off Strathboggie. F. Lesley is triomphing ther. . . ."

"23 June 1654. I meruel that ye who is att the fontains of watters wold thinke wpon a litle Strathboggi streame almost dry. . . ."

His desire to return to Scotland had at an earlier date been doomed to disappointment, for in June, 1649, Father Gall writes as follows to the Roman Rector :—

"F. Minister resumes his Procuratoriall mynde since you ar gon, & hes layd asyde his pickestaffe & gaberlungy resolution till you go home wt him yourself, he wishes you als many Italian healthes & merrie dayes at Rome as there be puddockes in the ponds and marishes of Maubeuge."

The following month Father Gall continues to write in the same humorous vein :—

"July 1649. Our Procurator hath of late cutt his hayre, & caused rase his crowne agayne, & hes quytte forgottin his resolution to become a Gaberlungyman,¹ I hope to take the pykestaffe yet before him myself. . . ."

In a letter dated 7th January, 1650, Father Anderson is referred to as "F. Puddock poore now alas & pipping," and he himself, writing to Rome on 20th December, 1651, begins his letter thus :—

"Patience must be had uith the Tiberian caues which is aluayes blasting owt som rottin vapors against the noble froges off Maubeuge, uhilk hath been so oft compared unto Rome, and in the uhich owr prince did keep his cowrt for a longe tym this year. . . ."

The joke at Father James Anderson's expense, forgotten for more than two hundred and fifty years, and now brought out once more into circulation, cannot be expected to have retained much of the flavour which tickled the sense of humour

. . . and that the sermon being ended, he went out into the Rawes, and filled himself beastly full, as his maner is. . . ."

¹ Gaberlunyie. A wallet or pack that hangs on the side or loins. Hence Gaberlunyie-man, a pack-man or tinker (*Jamieson's Dictionary*).

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of the Scottish Jesuits in days when such men as they had little enough to laugh at. But an outline of the jest, which was no doubt repeated to appreciative ecclesiastical circles in Rome, has been preserved by Father Gall's letter to Father Andrew Leslie of the 20th November, 1649:—

“ REVEREND & VERY DEARE FATHER,

“ By yr last of the 26 of Octob. I was owerioyed to learne of your R. his constant wellfare euer since yr arryual to Rome, which I do attribute in a part to the ayre of that Noble citty, much sympatizing wt your complexion. Well doe the Grecians call it *ῥωμή* i.e. robur, seeing it doth corroborate & fortifie him, whome mistie & moyst Belgium did make feeble & faynt.

“ One day whills our F. Procurator was comparing the swynestyne of Maubeuge to that prime citty of the world, I told him wt what noble epithetes the Ancients do style it, calling it *πανβασιλειαν*, virtutum domicilium, mundi caput, urbium Reginam, Matrem et Nutricem Heroum, legum Patriam, terrarum Deam gentiumque, quæque Imperium terris, animos æquavit Olympo,¹ surioyning that it was the only citty which had the propertie to metamorphose a Niggart into a liberall. He taking hold of this last part; Why then, sayd he, I confyde that Father Andreue will become liberally Prodigall, and send me not only the 200 fl. debursed for him, but also a large & ample viaticum for me & my congaberlungiman, whereby to make my walletts waxe bigge & weightie agayne I take iourney towards the incomparablie indigent Kingdome of Glenko. Thus he wt a Malbodian mouth moystening his mustaches, & frowning lyke a half frozen frogge.² Sed ad rem. I answered that of yr. R. concerning [etc.] . . .”

¹ This collection of epithets is taken from the *Commentary* of Cornelius a Lapide: “ Alii veteres Romam compellant panbasileia virtutum domicilium, mundi caput, urbium regina, mater et nutrix heroum, patria legum, terrarum dea gentiumque . . . patria omnium, quæ, ut canit poeta Æneid. 6. Imperium terris, animos æquavit Olympo ” (*Comment. in Scripturam Sacram.*, tome IX, p. 35, Paris, 1854).

Cornelius a Lapide (Van den Stein), a Flemish Jesuit, died in 1637. He was Professor of Holy Scripture at Rome during the later part of his life, and Father Gall may have been one of his pupils.

² Malbodian mouth. Malbodium is the Latin name for Maubeuge (Alfred Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*, Vol. II, p. 394, Leipzig, 1896-1904).

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Some idea of the serious financial difficulties in which the College of Douai was involved as a result of protracted continental wars can be gathered from the correspondence. On the 7th January, 1650, Father Gall complains that :—

“ For the whole last yeare the Mont Piety (on wch consisteth the mayne of our rente) payed us no-thing, & this yeare no hopes except of a six monthes pay only, the King not paying them. so I feare my little ones shall suffer. . . .”

In March, 1650, Father Gall was relieved of his burden at Douai, which, he writes, “ is layd on Father Christies muche more able & Atlanticke shoulders.”

Father Christie, when he becomes Rector, refers constantly to the failure of the College's investments, but he seems to have been successful in getting a partial payment of what was due :—

“ Fr. Christie (Douay) to Fr. Andrew Leslie (Rome)
27th June 1650.

“ . . . rents not being payed, and the montes in greate hazard to be losed, for which I haue, and shal Goduilling use al ordinary meanes, yet not only oures, but al saeculares uho haue their monyes upon them are in perplexity and feare. At Brussels I obtained a decreate from the priuy counsaill (which is admired of) against the General of al the montes, yet the exequution is difficile, seing he is not soluendo, yet I haue hade something for the present, as to the future God uil prouide, upon uhose diuine prouidence we must rely. I am forced to diminish the numberes, yet our good fatheres hath sent uith Isabel Mouat¹ young Aradual² his sone, and Gilbert Inglish brother-in-law to Paul Colison uithout one penny to maintain them. . . .”

Payment of dues from parents in Scotland was irregular and uncertain :—

“ Fr. W. Christie (Douay) to Fr. And. Leslie (Rome)
26 July 1650.

“ This hous being for the present in such difficultyes rents not being payed cannot hazard to lose al, you may consider

¹ See Appendix III.

² Robert Gordon, 15 years old, son of James Gordon of Aradoul, and Joan Bisset, sister of Fr. George Bisset (*Douai Diary*, 1650).

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what is resting to it be Drum, Petfodels and Morginton for their children of which no thing can be hade to supplie our necessityes. our numbers encreasing to 27, if not diminished, and al litle ones in inferiour shules.”

In a letter of 9th September, 1652, Father Christie gives some details of the investments held by the College :—

“Consider also this hous which first loset the 3rd. pairt of al our rents, resaueing then the Spanish pistol in Flanders for 8 frankes, heare we hade 12 frankes til the change of the monyes. Next al our fundation monyes uare put upon the monts piety, to uit 55000 thousand gifeing yearly 5 and some more for the 100. Now it is concludet at the counsail in Mechlin the montes not soluendo shal gife only 2 for the 100, the space of 10 yeares. This F. Haccart and Cobergher¹ Generall of the monts haue writen to me.

“Show this to F. Thomson that his nepheu this yeare can not be resaued we forced to diminish our numbres. . . .”

The capital sum here mentioned corresponds closely to the amount left by Curle, which is stated to have been 60,000 florins.²

That the College possessed town property in addition to the investments in the Montes, is evident from a letter written by Father Christie on 7th March, 1656 :—

“Consider then, and lat F. General knou hou necessar it is to haue 2 send from France heare, seing I for aage and stony grauel may not goe abroad to tounes or uillages to deale for the distracted euil payed rents of this hous. . . .”

A third, but apparently equally precarious source of income, was some agricultural property which Father Christie was still able to supervise five years later, in spite of his “stony grauel.” He writes in 1661 :—

“I uisited our lands, which was neuer uisited be any of

¹ Charles Cobergher, son of Wenceslas, the founder of the Monts-de-piété in Belgium, succeeded his father as General Manager in 1630 (P. de Decker, *Études historiques et critiques sur les Monts-de-piété en Belgique*, p. 137, Bruxelles, 1844).

² Introduction to Blakhal's *Narration*, p. xxvi. This figure is probably taken from a letter written to Mr Farquharson, last Rector of the College at Douai, in 1790, a copy of which was entered by Canon Clapperton in his *Notes on the Scottish Mission and Colleges*, p. 318. The letter says that the sum left by Curle and his aunt was “63,000 florins of Brabant, which in Flemish money would amount to about 116,000 French livres.” 55,000 livres in the currency of 1650 would be nearly equal in value to 116,000 livres in 1790.

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ours nation befor, did luic and tak a nott of landes hade been alineat and neglectet. if ueale uset and bandits did not hinder their could be profitt hade for your college neglectet be our procuratours. . . .”

The ability of Father Christie and his capacity for work can be realised from the fact that at the time of his appointment he must have been at least sixty-seven years of age. He was twice Rector at Douai, from 1650 to 1653, and from 1656 till his death in 1665. The entry in the *Douai Diary* states that he was believed to be over a hundred years old, “centenario, ut creditur, majori,” but Forbes Leith says that he was born in 1584. This date must be approximately correct.

He continued to work and write up to the very end of his life. In August, 1664 he paid a visit to the Jesuit house at Tournay (Macbrek, 24th August, 1664), and his last letter from Douai, written on the 8th June, 1665, shows no diminution of his administrative powers. His last illness is briefly referred to in letters from Douai:—

“Our old man is verye seek for the present and haes euer been deteened in his bed since Christmesse (Fr. Adam Gordon. 30. April, 1665).”

“Our old freend good father Christy hath recauied his viatik and since become somewhat better; yit giuen ouer by the physicians, he may liue awhyle but no hopes of recouerye (Fr. A. Gordon, 27 Sept., 1665).”

A fortnight later the “old man” was dead.

In the letters written at the time of his first appointment to the Rectorship at Douai, Father Christie refers repeatedly to his bad state of health; he complains on 20th December, 1651 of “ane incertane fashious ague inclineing to a quartana,” and was troubled with a complaint of which he writes as follows to F. And. Leslie:—

“Douay. 27th June. 1650. I haue compassion of you for your grauel as your R. may haue of me for mine, the best remead I find is patience and the smalest drink, al hote and strong doe harme as I haue found by experience of myself and others. . . .”

Father Christie seems to have been, at the time when he is known from his letters, a friendly, tactful, wise old priest; a canny Scot, too, in the best sense of that phrase. He was intolerant of incompetency, whether in his fellow-

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Jesuits at Madrid and Rome, or in the Seculars at Paris. Yet in spite of his sharp pen he was held in great esteem by his colleagues. He had been for five years Superior of the Jesuit Mission in Scotland, where he arrived about 1624. Father John Macbrek, in a letter to the General of the Society in April 1628, says that :—

“ Father Christie is an extraordinary and untiring labourer . . . he has brought more than four hundred people to the faith since he came to Scotland two years and a half ago.”¹

Several of the letters written by Father Christie while he was in Scotland have been published by Forbes Leith, but they are translations from the Latin, and thus have lost nearly all trace of the writer's style and personality. The occasional obscurity of his letters, sometimes due to irregular punctuation, is more often a consequence of his determination to save pens, ink, and post-charges by compressing news into the smallest possible space. He is garrulous and full of gossip, but cannot afford to be garrulous on paper, and the result is that the more he is interested in what he is writing, the more he becomes obscure. His obscurity is not due to illiteracy, but rather to a conflict between natural volubility and an unnatural parsimoniousness enforced upon him by circumstances. As a rule the most interesting parts of his letters are the postscripts, with which he fills up the margins of the paper, and wherein, following the example of Father Gall, he gives some account of local affairs. In his letter of the 17th December, 1649, the longest of the whole series, he has three postscripts, the last of which is a masterpiece of concentrated historical narrative. The interest of the reader is at once aroused by the arresting structure of the first sentence :—

“ Greate broyles, and dangerous attempts, bot al accomodat. The Prince of Condé in peril to haue been killed, the conspiracy detected made him send his empty coatche uith lackayes and torches, into uich passing be new bridge they did shoot many pistoles, bot being frustrat reteared. . . .”²

The letters written by Father Christie from Douai contain a few thumb-nail sketches of the stirring events of the time. The College was surrounded by the battlefields of

¹ Forbes Leith, *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics*, I, p. 8.

² This incident is mentioned in *The Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IV, p. 612.

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Flanders; Cambrai, Landrecies, Valenciennes, Arras, names famous then, with a more terrible history awaiting them two hundred and sixty years later. In 1656 the Spaniards were conducting their leisurely campaign against the French, who were trying to expel them from the Netherlands. The Spanish army was invigorated by the arrival of Don John of Austria, a natural son of the King of Spain, by the assistance of the exiled French under the great Condé, and by some British troops raised by King Charles. Sir James Turner says that five regiments in all were raised by the permission of John of Austria, and put under the command of the Duke of York; "at least 16 Captains were ordered to be of the Scots whereof I was one. . . ." ¹ Father Christie compresses the local war news into his compact postscripts:—

"27th June, 1656. Valentian uas beseaged the day of the B. Sacrament,² lines are made, yet noe attaque, hearing the approache of this army uich yesterday past be this Don Jan, D of Condé, Caracen, and Prince of Line, they haue al greate hopes to release the toun, bot I suspect a bloody battel befor. D. Jan hath ane Augustinian confessour. . . . Don Jan is esteemed be the people for his humane cariage, and conueying of the B.S. lighting of and going on foot to the house uhair the saek person, and to the Church bak to the benediction at 9 of clok at night as he returned from the uisitat of the fortificationes of this toun, and fort of Carpoe."

"17th July. Yr R. did heare Walentian uas beseaged be the french this 4 or 5 ueeks past strictly be ane peaceful army, and that 8 dayes after Don Jan, Prince of Condé, uith ane army did approach their tranches, uich uare uery strong, and entranced the french about, those of the toun assailing frequently did behaue themselues ualorously, til yesterday about one of clok in the morning the former princes uith their army did furiously at 3 pairts, notuithstanding of al difficultyes, enter uithin their lines, kil many, tak greate numbers specially of the foot, al put to flight, leauing canon, and other impediments. al particulars uil be printed."

"31 May 1657. [In that month Cromwell had entered into an alliance with the French.] Cambray uas beseaged uith ane pouerful army, and in great peril to haue been taken,

¹ *Memoirs*, p. 46.

² The Feast of Corpus Christi, celebrated in the Latin Church on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday.

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the garison being for the most pairt called out befor, bot Condé uith 3900 horses made uay throgh his enemyes be force, the 29 May in the night, and entring the toun uent directly uith his to our Ladyes Church at 2 of klok in the morning to render thanks. They intendet to seege this toun befor, bot subsidy coming they hade noe hopes. . . .”

In a subsequent letter he complains of the :—

“ . . . imposts, taxes and most cruel exactiones of soe greate summs of moneyes uas neuer heard, or read of in these nationes, and al under pretext of uarrs against the Spaniard. . . . Our King is at Brussels, Duke of York in the army, General of the foot Scots, Ingl. and Irish, Duke of Glosester also in the army. . . . The army being heare many Scottish uisite us”

Father James Anderson had been promoted from Procurator to Rector at Douai on the 3rd of May, 1653. The advancement of juniors to posts of authority and the simultaneous reduction of seniors to a subordinate position is a feature of the Jesuit system of government. The first paragraph of a letter written by Father Christie on 1st July, after the appointment of Father Anderson, shows that submission to the difficult discipline of the Society had not been made without an effort :—

“ Fr. W. Christie to Fr Adam Gordon. 1. July. 1653.

“ I hade yesterday your 2 kind letteres of the 25 of May, and 8 of June. Noe going abroade uithout particular licence, nor alleadged priuiledge of primacy or antiquity uithout uertue and express uil of the F. Rector, qui se exaltat humiliabitur. Doe uhat you can in charity to gain al. I am glade Mr Leith doth ueale, salute him and otheres uorthy. No bloues or discordes must be tolerat. . . .”

The young Rector must have done his work well, for Father Christie writes on the 25th September, 1655 :—

“ F. James doe end the 8 of May comeing, he hath giuen greate satisfaction to al, except F. Monteith, uho I uish doe ye like. . . .”

In spite of their financial difficulties, the Jesuit Fathers at Douai were able to entertain occasional visitors from Scotland. In an undated letter written in 1655, Father Anderson writes :—

“ Ther is a yowth heer who knew the Lord off Bauerde

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in Scotland who giueth a report of him conform to yowrs, I wishe he could be made a formel catholike, and Monsieur Hope better than he is. . . .”

He wrote again on 25th April 1656 :—

“ My Lord Baluard was heer the last week . . . wee shew him all possible courtesy that lay in owr power. his thrie seruants was Catholiks, and himself lyk to be on the way. . . .”

David Murray, 2nd Lord Balvaird, succeeded to his father in 1648. He seems to have spent several years in Rome. I cannot identify “Monsieur Hope.” “Hopelis Hope is of ane bad generation,” says Father Christie (5 April, 1655), who continued to write regularly and vigorously to Rome, although Father James Anderson says (19 Oct., 1655) that “he is now aged and somewhat seeklie.”

The letters from Douai at this time are chiefly concerned with college business and money matters. There is no news bulletin from Scotland such as Father Gall used to send. Father Anderson’s letters contain as a rule very few references to Scottish affairs :—

“Fr. J. Anderson (Douai) to Fr. J. Talbot (Rome)
March 16, 1655.

“ Albeit I know that letters bee deare, and that I haue no urging matter off writting, neuertheles my affection permitteth me not to slipe any occasion, at least when F. Christie doe not writte. I forgot the last tym to inclose Monsr. Robertsons letter, whiche I send now with ane other of a freind of myn in Douay. . . . F. Maskow your old acquaintance hathe not been weel this pretty whyl. I think I told you that F. Monteith is teaching Rhetoricke at Namure; F. Thomas Paterson writteth from Pont à Mousson, that he was to say his first Masse upon Passion Sunday, and endeth his Diuinity this yeare. His brother F. George is weel in London, from whence wee saw a printed paiper the last weeke, diuulgated by the authority of his Highnes the Lord Protector, whiche appeareth to permitte some toleration to Catholiks, bot of this muche can not be said, til wee see the practise. Since Paul Colison come to France wee had nothing from Scotland. they writte seldome and barren letters, they say ther is extraordinary scarcity of moneyes in that countrie, bot to recompense that the meal is extraordinarily good cheape. F. Chrystie saluteth you most louinglie and so dothe B. Robert. Old F. Radisind is iust sitting in his chalmer as ye left him. I

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beleue ye imagine owr sufferings by this longe warr in a frontier town, yet God hath a caire off us, blessed be his holy name. I pray you be not spairing off newes from Italy, for I know ye haue many in on things and other occurring ther. I haue hade a desyn this longe tym to know the names, surnames, families of owr old Scots fathers, could ye not helpe me in that ? ”

“ Old Father Radisind is just sitting in his chalmer as ye left him.” Among all the letters written from Douai there is no more graphic sentence. On 3rd October, 1656, Father Christie writes : “ F. Radisin our old frind the Benedictin is dead.” Father Rudisind Barlow, a learned and once influential Benedictine, died on 19th September, 1656.¹ There is another reference to the Monks of St Gregory’s College, Douai, in a letter dated 24th September, 1657 :—

“ Their is ane English Benedictin Monk F. Bernard uas Prior heare to reside their at Rome, our kind frind, please yr R. mak him uelcome to say Mas, as he desires, in St Androues.”

Father Bernard Palmes, of Naborne Castle, Yorkshire, was Prior at Douai from 1653 to 1657. He died at Gratz in 1663.²

From these references it is evident that the disputes between the Jesuits and the Benedictines at Douai, which dated back to the early years of the seventeenth century,³ had been amicably settled.

I have found in the letters written between 1649 and 1660 only one reference to the English Jesuits, with whom the Scottish Fathers seem to have been on good terms. Father Christie writes from Paris on 22nd October, 1649 :—

“ Ye 9 of this the Proull [Provincial] of England uith F. Thomas Babthorp, F. Michael⁴ and brother Johne depairted from this to Rome uith uhome I urite to yr R. recommending them seing their kindnes and friendship may doe good, yr R. may uisite them. I dealt uith the Proull my old acquentance, bot more fusely uith F. Babthorp uho uil be free

¹ Weldon, *Chronicle of the Benedictine Monks*, pp. 106-7, London, 1881.

² *Idem*. Appendix, pp. 7-10.

³ Peter Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent*, pp. 232, 233, London, 1914.

⁴ Probably Michael Kinsman, born 1614, “ who, after passing through various offices of the English Province, died at Liège in a good old age, 20th May 1694 ” (Oliver, p. 127).

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uith you of al thinges tooching our Colleges and missiones, yr R., of uhome I haue informed, uil find him real, iudicious, and kind."

Thomas Babthorpe, "a man of distinguished merit," says Oliver,¹ "was Rector of the English College at Rome from 1650 to 1653." The English name puzzled the Scottish Fathers, for F. Christie writes at the end of his letter:—

"Shou F. Thomson that this is name rightly uriten, in my other letteres uith them, I did err."

On leaving Douai, Father Gall was sent as Procurator to the Jesuit house in Paris, where he found the same difficulties about money:—

"F. R. Gall (Douay) to F. And. Leslie (Rome) 23 March 1650.

"I did what I could to obtayn licence to go for our Mission, but a whyle at least to Paris I am remitted by holy obedience, to begge there for our exyled & liue in misery myself. Our Rentes I heare of our new F. Rector ar not payed there becaus of the sturres last yeare & exceeding great pouertie this, so my misfortune is euer to encounter one crosse when I part wt another. . . ."

The Jesuit house in Paris, known as Clermont College, was founded in 1563 by William du Prat, Bishop of Clermont, and endowed by him with a rent of 2000 livres.² The first governor was a Scotsman, Fr. Edmund Hay (1549-94). The College incurred the enmity of the University of Paris, but flourished under the patronage of Louis XIV, and was known as the College Louis-le-Grand. The buildings are now occupied by a secular school, which has maintained the old name.³ In 1649 the fortunes of the College were at a low ebb. Father Christie sent to the Rector at Rome a depressing account of its finance:—

"Paris. 17th Dec. 1649. As to oures in Scotland of uhos suffringes, necessityes and dangeres I haue greate compassion, as for help be the confessour or any other heare their is no hopes, eache one lamenting their pitifull condition, and par-

¹ *Collections*, p. 48.

² *Revue des Questions Historiques*, Vol. 65, p. 472.

³ Douarche, *L'Université de Paris et les Jésuites*, Paris, 1888; Edmond, *Histoire du Collège Louis le Grand*, Paris, 1845.

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ticular difficultyes, and that the times heare uare neuer wors. No monyes to be hade nor debts payed. I was forced to borrow that for F. Gall oures resauues in Scotland, for I can haue no payment heare from our fatheres they not haueing to buy bread, or liue."

I think that what Father Christie meant by the last sentence in this passage is that he had borrowed some of the money that was sent annually from Clermont College to Douai as a contribution to the subsidy provided every year to the Jesuit missionaries in Scotland. Father Gall refers to this subsidy in a letter dated at Paris, 23rd October, 1652 :—

"For all Newes frome Scotland our fathers there io in number suffer much hunger & cold scarce finding ubi caput reclinent, all our poore catholikes ar so impouerished that of them they can expect no temporall relieffe, nay they must giue them rather out of charity wherewt to supplie their extreame indigency, only two of them, or 3 at most haue residences, the rest ar euer in motu ac metu traueilling euer to assist the most indigent, to gayne some a new, & regayne others lapsed. They wreat that if I had not send these two last yeares so carefully a subsidy & supplie far aboue the ordinary, they had beene forced to quyte the countrey. . . ."

In 1653 the Procurator continues to complain of his financial difficulties :—

"F. Gall (Paris) to Fr. Gordon (Rome) 17th Jan 1653.

"Others wreat to me allready that the pouerty of the whole countrey is such that non of the best sorte & quality ar able to rigge out their children wt a compleete or competent viaticke thether, I haue promised in yr name to supplie them at their arryual hether wt some competent subsidy. . . . I detayne heere Mr Sandersons sonne untill I gett yr ansuer, & see if others comme frome Scotland. Those of Douay ar scattering for want, but non of them is rype for your college."

Although Father Gall wrote in April 1653 that "Douay college is lyke to be quyte undoone," the letters of the following year show that an improvement had taken place :—

"Fr. Christie (Douay) to Fr Adam Gordon (Rome)
5th July 1654.

"Ours heare augment thogh smal hopes of our rents, and 2 pouerful armyes about us be reason of the seige of Arras

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which is not yet gained, soe some hath good hopes shortly, the uorkes without they say already taken."

"September 1654.

"Our difficultyes heare are greater, loseing first the 3rd pairt and now 2 for the 100 is only allotted, haueing 5 for the same 100 before, and to be payet only 1653 at Christmas, and yet we must haue coorage and remit the rest to Godes diuine prouidence."

In Paris the Scottish Jesuits had numerous calls upon their charity almost as urgent as the needs of the mission. Clermont College was a popular rendezvous for all Scots abroad, especially the impecunious ones, and some sort of entertainment had to be given to numerous guests, many of whom were hopefully regarded as possible converts. Scottish Catholics stranded in Paris without funds to pay the journey home had sometimes to be helped, and the money lent was not always promptly repaid. Father Christie, when in Paris, had already dealt with some of the promising cases:—

"Fr. W. Christie (Paris) to Fr. And. Leslie (Rome)
14th Sept. 1649.

"Our poor Catholiques heare are like to sterue neither doe they knou uhat cours to tak. God comfort them. Particular occurents I remit to Mr Hay his relation.

"I urite to F. Vicare General (as I did before to ye defunct General) if some subsidy or almes could be hade to assist our Fathers in the countrey, or to maintain heare one or 2 in Paris uhair greate good may be done be reason of the great concurs of al sort, cheefly noblemen and their children, and liberty to deale uith them, upon uhose acquentance and conuersion our mission doe depend, neither doe I omit any occasion to deale uith them, cheefly since I reside in Claremont College uhair I haue F. Spreul sometimes to accompany me. Lorn¹ and the Chancr. sone are gone, my Lord Paisly² is heare, nou diseased, uas taken from his father be Puritanes to suck their poison in Geneua, and such infernal lacks,³ one Falconer a roundhead his Gouvernour, yet if God spare his dayes

¹ Archibald, afterwards ninth Earl of Argyle. "After attending the University of Glasgow he went to travel in France and Italy, and was abroad from 1647 to the end of 1649" (*Scots Peerage*, Vol. I, p. 361).

² James, Lord Paisley, eldest son of the 2nd Lord Abercorn (*Scots Peerage*, Vol. I, p. 49).

³ Perhaps from the Latin "*lac*," with the meaning "sour milk of heresy."

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I hope they shalbe deceaued (he is no nou heretique). We haue uisite him diuers times, and he more kind nor his gouernour doe desire.

“Diuers otheres young youthes men of good condition and hopes, some of them gone to Rome. I pray your R. let al kindnes be oures their shouen to them, not only in our hous, bot acquent uith F. Athanasio¹ seing they be much taken uith mathematical conceipts, this uil gain their affection, as otheres uare in my time uho are mindfull of it. . . .”

Father Gall, on his arrival in Paris, saw at once the importance of getting into touch with the exiled Scots in that city. He wrote on 16th December 1650 to the Rector of the Roman College :—

“Heere wee haue a world of our poor countrey people, & nothing to helpe them wt. The Earle of Seafort is not euill disposed, wt whome wee haue often conference, as also wt others of quality heere, as Hackerton and his Brother, nay & wt some refuged Ministers & Regents. I commende them all to yr R. his holy SS. that God may illuminat their understandings & enkindle their wills to receiue the light of Catholike faith.”

In October 1651 the Earl of Seaforth, Secretary to King Charles, died at Schiedam. On December of that year Father Gall wrote :—

“The Earle of Seafort is dead in Holland & that catholikaly I hope, for I did finde him conuincied & fully persuaded of the truth of Cath. Religion by sundry conferences wch I had wt him. The Mr of Haccarton² is gonne home wt his Brother, bothe much inclyned to turne catholikes, as I confyde they shall, if any settling be permitted to catholikes in our cuntrey.”

In a letter, undated but written early in 1650, Father Gall recommends that Father Spreul be appointed as resident chaplain to the Scots colony in Paris. This suggestion was adopted by the French Provincial in spite of opposition from Father Andrew Leslie at Rome, to whom Father Christie wrote from Douai on 26th July 1650 :—

“Yr R. is deceaued or euil informed of the smal good

¹ The famous Jesuit scholar, Athanasius Kircher, 1602-80. He was Professor of Philosophy and Mathematics at Würzburg. He died at Rome in 1680 (*Sommervogel*, tome IV, col. 1046, *et seq.*).

² Sir Alexander Falconer, of Halkerton, had been superseded as Lord of Session for “malignancy” in 1649 (*Douglas Peerage*, V, p. 249).

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may be done in Paris, or that one in Paris his pension is a greater somme nor is gifen to 4 in Scotland itself. . . .”

On the 10th November 1651, Father Gall writes again, emphasising the fact that Scottish Catholics in Paris were badly in need of material help and spiritual consolation :—

“ . . . as for myne owne case heere what toyle & troobl I haue in begging subsidyes & subsistence for our many poore extreameley poore & indigent catholikes here God knowes, yet my comfort is that some ar gayned to fayth, & others confirmed, all assisted spiritually & the most indigent euen corporally too. . . .”

During the greater part of the year 1650, Father Gall was not able to send much news on to Rome about the condition of the mission in Scotland. He reports on the 16th of December 1650 :—

“ Frome our Fathers in the Mission I heard nothing since July last ; only I heare that they ar retyred some South towards Galloway, others North in great want & distresse, yet endeauour still stoutly to uphold the small number of constant Catholikes, & dispose others for receiuing the fayth to which many more then a long tyme heeretofore wittnesse a great propension & inclination, the veyle of hypocrisie being remoued frome the hideous aspect of heresie. Show to the F. Secretarie or our F. Generall himself at occasion this of our Fathers, & that they take not ill there not wreating to them, for the truth is that no letters comme frome thence at all ; or uery accidentally only & seldome. I hear that P. Collinson¹ hath worne whyte sheets & hayrcloath to giue satisfaction to Cant & the Kirk. . . .”

A year later the situation had greatly improved. Cromwell had succeeded in moderating the religious enthusiasm of the Covenanters. He forbade the practice of making a capital levy, disguised as “ excommunication,” on all who would not submit to the Kirk. The satisfaction of the Scottish Catholics with this new turn of events is hopefully expressed in a letter from a Jesuit missionary in Scotland, signed “ James Gray,” who was really the John Smith mentioned by Bellesheim² as a priest who was stationed about this time in Aberdeen :—

“ Ja. Gray to ‘ my worthie freind Robert Gall. 14. Dec. 1651.

“ Matters goes better with us for the present then this

¹ This must be “ Paul Colisone, late bailzie in Aberdein, excommunicate for poperie” (*Register of the Presbytery of Aberdeen*, 9th May 1656).

² Vol. IV, p. 60.

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long tyme before, the Couenant is almost buried, Mr Kants power is much diminished, and it is thought that ere long, hee and all presbyterianes in the cheif townes of this countrey will be casseired and English preachers comeing doune to be put in their place, of this thair is ane act alreadie passed. Heir is the copie of Lieutenant Generall Monkes order; These ar to requyre and command all ciuill Magistrats, not to seize upon, medle with, or anywayes molest the persones or estates of anie excommunicated persones, or anywayes to discharge anie uther persones wharesoeuer to desist from dealling or trading with the said excommunicated persones, without order from the commonwealth of England, or thair commissioners, as they will ansueare the contrarie at thair perills. Giuen under my hand at Dundee the 2 of December 1651. George Monck. Postscript. The Magistrats of Abd. ar requyred to obserue this order as they will be ansuearable.

“Yee may shew this to all our freinds in your quarters, and that hes bein presented to the magistrats of Abd., who hes promised to obey it. I did see the principall of this order with the Lieutenant Generalls owne subscription at it. . . . I an euer your assured freind. Ja. Gray.”

Both at Douai and Paris the Jesuits were troubled, not only with money matters, but also with the equally urgent problem of obtaining a supply of Scottish ecclesiastical students. In addition to the shortage of candidates due to persecution and poverty of the Scottish Catholics, there was another and new obstacle to recruiting. The Secular clergy, long strangers, with intermittent exceptions, to the Scottish mission field, threatened now to become serious rivals under the able leadership of Mr Ballantyne,¹ who had stirred the old Scots College at Paris into activity.

This rivalry between the Scottish Jesuits and the Seculars had already been a source of weakness to the mission in the previous century. When James Beaton, last Archbishop of Glasgow in the old Hierarchy, endowed the Scots College in Paris in 1602, with the object of providing Secular priests for Scotland, he placed the Carthusians in charge. Even if the Jesuits had not been exiled from France at this time, it is probable that the Archbishop would not have entrusted them with the government of the college. He could not have been ignorant of the jealousy which already existed between the Scottish Jesuits and the Secular priests at the end of the

¹ The first Prefect Apostolic of the mission, appointed 1653.

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sixteenth century. He might have seen the misleading report on the condition of Scotland written in 1596 by Mgr. Malvasia, the Papal Agent at Brussels, to the Cardinal Secretary at Rome. In this document the Papal Agent ascribes the antagonism of the two parties to a difference of policy ; the Jesuits, he says, "hold it as an axiom . . . that only by force of arms can the Catholic religion be restored to its former state . . . the alumni on the other hand are naturally attached to their country, opposed to the idea of a revolution and the evils consequent on the introduction of a foreign sovereign and the law of Spain."¹

The assertion that the Jesuits were foreign and unpatriotic in their outlook is contradicted by the record of the Scottish members of that Society, who bore the brunt of mission work in Scotland for a hundred years, and more, after the Reformation. Most of them were of noble Scottish families, and as much opposed to foreign kings and foreign laws, and as naturally attached to their country, as any of the young men who years after were trained for the mission in the Secular Colleges of France and Italy. It is difficult to suggest how Malvasia could have had any personal knowledge of conditions in Scotland at the time when his report was written. The Jesuits were not without enemies in 1596, when Cornelius Jansen was still at school ; Malvasia was certainly one of them.

Fifty years later, when the reasons alleged by the Papal Agent no longer existed, if they ever had existed, the discord between the Jesuits and the Seculars was more acute than ever. Among a certain section of the Secular priests a tradition, originating perhaps from this report of the Papal Agent, was handed down for generations, whereby the Jesuits were blamed for the persecutions from which the Scottish Catholics suffered in the seventeenth century. In a history of the Mission written by John Thomson (1742-92), the original MS. of which is now at Blairs College, the violence of the language used about the Jesuits has hardly been surpassed by their bitterest calumniators :—

"The Scots Jesuits," he writes, "came to Scotland first in 1582, and as they had a considerable share both in the Ecclesiastical and political affairs of Britain, the nature of my subject requires that I take particular notice of them, and of their conduct in the Mission. It were to be wished that none of them had ever set a foot in Britain, for wherever they got a footing, instead of that evangelical simplicity, which is so

¹ This report is given at length by *Bellesheim*, III, p. 460.

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essential a part of the character of a Minister of the Gospel, they introduced a spirit of Ambition, and lust of power and domineering, and transferred the dark politics and intrigue of their own institution into Religion, hence in general they did more harm than good in the Mission, nor did the zeal of some of their Members compensate for the harm done by the body. After pronouncing a censure which to some may appear too harsh and severe, I am sensible that I ought to justify it, which I shall do in the course of these Memoirs. . . .”

The “justification” of these charges involved the employment of the process always adopted by polemical writers at this period, and for long after. Every accusation made against the Jesuits by historians, whether Protestant or Catholic, is accepted as certainly true; every incident which tells in their favour is regarded as doubtful. Thomson overlooked the fact that shortly after the Reformation the Secular clergy were rendered powerless or were driven abroad, and this to some extent through their own lack of energy. When the Jesuits came they encouraged the Catholics to resistance. They refused to submit tamely to persecution. In an age when persecution was often conducted by plot and intrigue, counter-plot and counter-intrigue were the only available methods of defence. The Jesuits fought with tenacity and resource against unjust laws, and endeavoured to instil some energy into the timid Catholic laity of Scotland. They deserved, at the hands of a Secular priest, eulogy rather than censure. The unjust comments of Thomson on the history of the Jesuit missions in Scotland did not meet with the approval of his superiors. His work has consequently remained in manuscript. A few extracts were printed by Forbes Leith;¹ what remains has little historical value. The suppression of this work was probably the result of an adverse report upon it made by the Abbé Paul Macpherson, who has left appended to the original MS. a note, undated, in his own handwriting:—

“The Author seems to be ill-informed with regard to the history of the times to which he alludes, and he all along is too harsh in his censures on the Jesuits. According to what Col. Semple affirms, the Catholics were superior in Nobility and Gentry (*i.e.*, numerically) at least as far down as the end of the 16th century.² It is not therefore to be wondered

¹ *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics.*

² In 1591 there were sixteen “Papists and discontented Erles and Lordes,” and eight “Protestants and well affected to the course of England” (*Estimate of*

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that they continued to expect, and to exert themselves to acquire their all, that so violently was taken from them. And as the Protestants had called Queen Elizabeth to their assistance, how can the Catholics be blamed if they looked to Spain for support? The interests of religion ought to be blended as little as possible with political intrigues, but the history of every age tells us how difficult it is, in some circumstances, to keep them separate. The Missioners both Jesuit and others to the number of about 20 were supported by Spain, viz. Philip II and III. No wonder then if they were attached to those monarchs. Though the Jesuits were sometimes employed by that court in lesser matters, the correspondence between the Scots Catholics and those Kings was carried on chiefly by Lord Seaton, Col. Semple and other seculars (laymen), as appears from said Col. Semple's papers, still extant in the Scots College, Valladolid. Why then should the blame be thrown, if any blame there was, on the Jesuits?

"It is also a remarkable fact that in a general Congregation of the Jesuits soon after the year 1590 there was a Decree made that all their Fathers should carefully avoid interfering in State affairs, and this Decree was procured principally by F. James Tyrie, who held then the office of assistant for Germany. This shows that all the Scots Jesuits were not inclined to plots and conspiracies. It must also be acknowledged that the Jesuits did a great deal of good in Scotland by their Apostolic labours; about that time and afterwards. Much may be said against them; but a great deal more for them."

Paul Macpherson was all his life a determined opponent of the Jesuits, but a varied and travelled experience had equipped him with more impartiality than was often to be found in an ecclesiastic during the first half of the nineteenth century. He had advantages which no historian had at the time, or has had since; he had access to all the documentary evidence in Rome, Paris, and Valladolid, for the ecclesiastical history of Scotland since the Reformation. The collections and catalogues he compiled from these documents have been extensively utilised by subsequent historians.

In 1650 the Jesuits, efficiently trained and organised, with

the Scottish Nobility during the Reign of James VI, pp. 62-63). Another account, in the same book, of the "Present State of the Nobilitie in Scotland the first of July 1592," which includes people of rank inferior to those named in the first list, gives the following statistics:—Protestants, 28; Papists, 13; Neutral, suspect, or doubtful, 6; Young (*i.e.*, minors), 9.

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“cells” in every promising Scottish centre, were in a strong strategical position; they lacked only men. They were conducting the campaign as successfully as was possible with the limited number at their disposal. They regarded the Seculars with dislike as rivals in the struggle to obtain recruits, and were convinced that new-comers into the mission-field without experience, and without the control of wise superiors, might lose all the ground which had been gained and was being held, almost entirely by the personal influence of men long established in the country, and related, most of them, to the powerful Catholic families. The Scottish Jesuits had no difficulty in convincing themselves that the interests of their own order and those of the mission were identical. This conviction, however, was perhaps not shared by their own Superiors at Rome; every attempt made by the Fathers to fortify their position at the expense of the Secular clergy was frustrated by the supreme authority.

During the winter of 1649 the Scottish Jesuits were endeavouring to obtain possession of the Scots College at Paris, which they alleged was not fulfilling the expectations of its founder, and could only be efficiently managed if it was under the control of the Society.¹ In a letter dated 3rd November 1649, written from Douai to the Rector of the Scots College, Rome, Father Gall gives a detailed account of the schemes he had in view to attain this objective:—

“As for the house of Paris I wrot to F. Christie yesterday fusely, who informing himself efter the aduyce I haue sent him, will wreat at lengthe to the R. F. Vicare & yr Rnce also what course shalbe thought most conducing for the obtayning of it. Wee shall encounter mayne opposition as well by the Carthusians (who neuer yet could be induced to shew the fundator his last will & disposition) as by our owne petts, qui impinguati, incrassati or dilatati recalcitrarunt. but what? filios educaui et enutriui, ipsi autem spreuerunt me.² Amongst other aduyces & informations I haue wreatin to F. Christie to deale wt the Queene of Fr. her secretarie our great friend, & induce him to persuade her Mtie to giue him direction to gett a sight of the said fundator his disposition,

¹ In 1624 the Nuncio at Paris, acting on instructions from Propaganda, had sent his auditor (Signore Sforza) to inquire into the state of the College. His report was unfavourable, and the Jesuits would have been put in charge at that time, had not the testament of the Founder stood in the way (*Arch. Cong. de P. F. Causæ*, p. 312, f. 96).

² Deut. xxxii. 15; Isa. i. 2.

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& if there be any clause in it (as I was euer informed there is) that the gouvernement of the said house be bestowed to us efter our returne out of exyle (for he dyed whills wee were exyled out of france)¹ that then the said secretarie by the Queene & Kings authoritie, cause putt in execution the defunct his last will. Madame de Sénecé first lady of honnour to her Mtie, will assist us much in this, as being our deare friend.² And this I thinke be on of the most easie & yet efficacious meanes to gett our intent. If this succede not, then it were not amisse his Holynesse were supplicated to wreat to his Nuncio resyding at Paris authorizing him wt power to examine all the Archbishop left as Relikes belonging to Scotland etc. & especially his last will, of which, if any clause be in our fauour, then to informe his Holynesse that he as father of the Church see the defunct his will punctually executed, & whether there be any clause for us or no, since Monsr. Christie chanon of St Quentin, secretarie and chappelain to the said Arbishop fundator, did often auerre to me, that he heard the fundator declare often by word that to be his mynde & intention that the gouvernement of the said house should returne to our FFs. his Holynesse might be induced to wreat to the Prior of the great Charterhouse, & that of Paris perswading both of them to resigne the said house to us, it being incompatible wt their institut & retyrednesse to gouerne seminaries or haue care of the education of youthes ordayned for Missions, especially considering that notwithstanding its goodly rents of 8 or 9000 frankes yearely, yet only 2 or three haue been made Priest into it, & feu or non gon out euer to helpe their cuntrey these many yeares. But of all concerneth this bussi-

¹ The Jesuits were expelled from France in 1594 on the false charge of connivance in the attempted assassination of Henry IV by Jean Châtel, who had been a student in Clermont College. They returned to France in 1604, and to the College in 1618.

² The Marquise de Sénecé, niece of Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld, "first Lady of Honour of the Queen, sold her place to the Cardinal (Mazarin), which he bought for 100,000 livres, to give to his sister" (*Thurloe*, I, p. 319, July 1653). "It was partly through her that the Jesuits, her directors, enlightened the zeal of the Queen-mother" (H. Bremond, *Histoire du Sentiment religieux*, tome 4, p. 180). She was, says Sainte-Beuve, "dévotée, emportée, et capricieuse," and took sides against the Jansenists:—

"La marquise de Seneçay
 Dame excellente comme on sçay
 Est la capitale ennemie
 De secte que je n'aime mie."

(Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal*, Vol. III, p. 162, Paris 1867.)

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ness F. Christie will wreat to the R. F. Vicare & yr R. more amplie. . . .”

In Paris, Father Christie had no difficulty in getting a sight of “the defunct his last will,” wherein was no mention of the Jesuit Fathers, whose case, based on the verbal tradition handed down by Michel Christie, Canon of St Quentin, did not stand much chance of success. Both the Secular priests and the Carthusians were preparing strong opposition to the claims of the Jesuits. Father Christie wrote from Paris on the 17th December, 1649 :—

“I in my first to oures did shou their uare no hopes at this time for to attempt anything for the hous be reason their be neither urite nor uitnes extant to produce, aboue other obstacles, the Supres of thes religious exacerbat be the sinistrous informationes, and calumnyes gifen against oures be the faction heare to palliat their gouernment and miscariage, as if oures praetendet to posses all. soe it uas not necessar to acquent as F. Nath. desired, if I hade seene any hopes yr. R. and Supres should haue been aduertised, nothing can be done in that busines bot be the Pope, and King heare which must tak time, aboue al to moue the Grand Prior and his uich uil be no smal difficultye, this is al can be said or uriten be me hearin. . . .”

Father Christie wrote in 1650 (no date) from Paris, that not only the Secular clergy and the Chartreux, but also the University were opposed to Father Gall's scheme. The Scots College in that very year had begun to think of its own reformation, and the Congregation of Propaganda at Rome had made plans for reorganising the whole of the Secular Mission in Scotland.

CHAPTER III

THE JESUITS AT DOUAI AND PARIS—*continued*

The imprisonment and trial at Edinburgh of Father James Macbrek, S.J. told by Andrew Hay, son of the Clerk Register—Father Macbrek at Clermont College, Paris—A poor Scottish scholar—The story of Jean Lady Haddington and the Marquis of Montrose, followed by the strange tragedy of her death as told by Father Macbrek—Disputes between the Jesuits and Seculars at Paris—Spies in the Jesuit College—Renewal of persecution in Scotland—Capture of Father Francis Dempster, S.J.—His cruel imprisonment—His controversy with Dr Menzies at Aberdeen—Despondency of Scottish Catholics—The return of Charles II.

IN July 1654, Father Gall having gone to Scotland, his post at Clermont College was filled by Father James Macbrek who belonged, Forbes Leith says, "to a good Scottish family." He had entered the Society in 1615, and was in Scotland as early as 1627. He is known chiefly as the writer of a long letter to the General of the Order, written in 1648, which gives a detailed account of the campaign of Montrose in 1644-45.¹ It is probable that he himself accompanied the army of Montrose as chaplain, and that it is often of himself that he speaks in his letter, when he is writing of "a priest" in the third person. The story of his imprisonment in Scotland at a later date, in 1653, has been partly told by Forbes Leith.

In the correspondence of the Scottish Jesuit Fathers, although political and domestic interests occupy a large place, it is only at infrequent intervals that anything is written to recall the fact that in seventeenth-century Scotland Catholic priests lived at the risk of their lives. Very seldom is any mention made of the persecution endured by the missionaries. Father Christie never says a word of the hardships and imprisonments he went through during his career in Scotland; they are known only from the official reports he sent to the General of the Order.²

There are, however, a number of letters written by Father Gall from Paris, wherein he gives an account, based upon the testimony of an ex-student from the Scots College, Rome,

¹ Forbes Leith, *Memoirs*; John Buchan, *Montrose*, London 1928.

² Forbes Leith, *Memoirs*.

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named Andrew Hay, of the imprisonment of Father James Macbrek, who was saved from the scaffold at the last moment by Cromwell. This Andrew Hay had been at Rome in 1649, where he arrived with the following recommendation given by Father Christie :—

“ Paris. 14th Sept. 1649.

“ He is the clerk register his sone, conuerted some yeares agoe in France uhair he gaue greate proof of his uertue and zeale to the singular contentment of our fathers in Burge and La Fleche.”

Andrew Hay is stated in the Register of the Scots College, Rome, to have left in 1652. He was the eldest son of Sir John Hay, of Landes, who had been deprived of his post as clerk register in 1641 “for following the King,”¹ and who :—

“ . . . undertook stoutly to cause the ministers of Edinburgh accept of the service book in the churches there ; but there being a mutiny in the town, and the bishops chased down the streets for attempting that rash enterprise, he was forced to quit the town, and fly to England, where he joined himself to Montrose, and, at the battle of Philiphaugh, was taken prisoner . . . he has lurked ever since privately, and never conquest any lands, but a poor place in Galloway, called the Land. . . .”²

From various references in Father Gall’s letters it appears that Andrew Hay had a brother, who was a student in Paris, and was not a Catholic :—

“ Paris. 15th July. 1650.

“ Shew Mr Haye that yesterday F. Spreule & I spoake wt his Brother, who is a mayne precise Puritayne, yet nothing shall wee omitte that can conduce to his reduction to the Church, but our Scotts heere hinder much such our pious enterpryses.”

“ 16th Feb. 1652.

“ I lent his brother heere somme monyes till he heare frome his father ; & conferre wt him to make him quyte his heresie, but he is ill to beate, otherwyse of a uery gentill nature & modest behaiour.”

¹ Spalding, *Troubles*, II, p. 63.

² *The Staggering State of the Scots Statesmen*, p. 125, by Sir John Scot, of Scotstarvet, Edinburgh 1754.

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The brother returned to Scotland in 1652 :—

“ May 3rd. 1652.

“ Present my louing respects to Mr Hay & tell him wee did all wee could to gayne his Brother, but he is still obstinate, the sight of the ecessiue change in Scotland in matters of religion may possibly doe him more good then any thing els.”

Andrew Hay himself returned home at the end of the year 1652, at the request of his father, who had written to him in August of that year through the intermediary of Father Spreul, who at the same time sent his own very sensible recommendations on the matter to Father Adam Gordon, then Rector of the College at Rome :—

“ It is a uery doubtfull cace what to aduyse him, for his patrimony wch is considerable runs a hazard in his absence & his uocation on the other part wil be differred & prolonged if he goe. I haue wryttin unto him to consulte matuirely wt God, by the meanes of the spirituall exercize, of the wch if God of his infinite bountye call him to a religious lyfe he may deferr the execution theirow, untill he setle his affaires, yett he may take holy orders. doe not take notice to him that I imparted my aduyse, but counsell him, as God shall inspyre you.”

He did not go back to Rome, and never became a priest.¹ According to the *Necrologium* of the Paris College, he died there on 3rd November 1702, and was buried in the College Chapel.

Mr Hay arrived in Scotland either at the end of 1652 or the beginning of 1653, in time for the “ huige persecution,” which had been announced by Father Gall. He was able to be of assistance to Father James Macbrek, Superior of the Jesuits on the Scottish Mission, who had been arrested on the 15th January 1653, and imprisoned in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. An account of Father Macbrek’s imprisonment and trial is contained in the *Annual Letter* of the Jesuit Fathers for that year.² The same story is told with some additional details by Father Gall, who had received letters

¹ He did not stay long in Scotland, where no career was open to a Catholic, but was “ obliged to look for a subsistence in Prussia.” (Andrew Hay, Edinburgh, to Mr L. Innes, Paris, 19th July 1683).

² Forbes Leith, *Memoirs*, II, pp. 58-60. Father Macbrek passed in Scotland under the *alias* James Crichton. See *Severall Proceedings*, Num. 177, February 1652, “ James Crichton is at his tryall for a Popish priest.”

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both from Father Macbrek and Andrew Hay, the latter being, as he says, an eye and ear witness of the trial :—

“Fr. Gall. (Paris) to Fr. Adam Gordon. (Rome) 15th March 1653.

“These enclosed is frome F. Ja. Macbreck Superior of our Mission, prisoner now in Edenburgh since the 15 of Jan. last, or 5 according to their compte. He was betrayed by an english trooper dissembling himself to be Catholik, to whome & his wyffe the good father had done sundry good offices & charities, but they retribuere mala pro bonis, odium pro dilectione, d’Amico io me guardo, d’Inimico dio me guarde.¹ The traytour hes delated young Pettfodels, Mr Johne Paipe,² & somme 4 or 5 more whome it seemes he did see at Masses wt him, who all ar arrested to compeere befor the Presbyterie & Church-session to giue their oathe whether he be priest or not, what euent this hath had I knowe not as yet. Sir J. Hamilton of Readhall wreats that he is in great danger as being delated to haue beene at Masse wt the prisoner.

“The good father is only in payne for those who ar accused to haue assisted at Masse wt him, fearing they losse their estates & goods according to the hereticall lawes, for himself he wreats to me that he was neuer more content nor satisfied in mynde, albeit he be uery ill used & deteyned in the publick prison, where ar all promiscuously, arrested for debt, whoredome, theft, murther etc. et cum iniquis reputatus est. He fears much as he wreats to me that they will only banish him, & not honour him (to use his owne phrase) wt a St. Johnston Ruban.³ Good Mr Hay went twyce to uisit him in the prison & sent his letter to me. . . .”

“Fr. Gall. to Fr. Gordon. June 11th 1653.

“Mr Hay who was eye & eare wittnesse to all wreats to me particularely that he heard him the space of uery neere a whole houre harangue wt a great deale of courage & constancie before the iudges iurymen & some Ministers to their great astonishment, conuincing that to be Priest & say Masse was agaynst no law, but most conforme to the lawe

¹ Father Gall seems to have got this proverb the wrong way round.

² In George Strachan’s *Album Amicorum*, preserved at Blairs College, I find a “Johannes Paip Edinburghi Scotorum secundo Decembris anno 1602.” This may be the same man.

³ In Brewer’s *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, a “St Johnstone’s Tippet” is said to be “so called from Johnston the hangman.” The phrase is used by Sir Walter Scott in *Old Mortality*, Chap. VII.

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of God, & our cuntrey, & that wch the English had settled since the last conquiest, surioynng the sole source & fountayne of all the calamities with wch that land is now heauely oppressed to be heresie, sinne, & their late periurie by their contrary Couenants. being iudged guiltie the iudge asked efter the custome if there were any thing (sauing iustice) in wch he could fauour him. He replyed that if he would grant him that singular fauour to be executed on good friday wch was but two dayes efter his araynment, he would tak it as the most eminent of all fauours. this moued so the Jurymen that he being remoued to prison, they did opinat once more, & were all of opinion since they could proue nothing in all his processe agaynst state or church gouernement to delaye his death untill they should first acquaynt the Prlmt wt all, & haue their aduyce, but ere their letter came to London, Crumwell had wt his armie dispersed the Prlmt, so the good father his lyffe is at present in Crumwell's hand, & I thinke he shall not suffer death. I beseech yr R. to putt all this short relation, as I hope you did the former, in Latin or Italien, & present it in my name to our R. F. General. the good father wreats to me in his last that the moments seeme millions of dayes & years to him untill he haue the happinesse to suffer, of wch to be deprived should be his excessiue grieffe.

“As for my self I am preparing for my voyage towards Scotland where I beseeche sweet Jesus I may inherit the good father his prison & putrifie therein for the loue of God, my wish is that he may gett his lyffe & leaue wtall to liue still in the cuntrey, that I may haue the happinesse to be the meanest of his seruants . . . one arryued heere yesterday frome Scotland in few dayes space tells me that the Judge Attorney sent word to F. Macbreck in prison that if he would but present a petition demanding his lyffe wt promis to retyre out of the cuntrey wtin 40 dayes, it should be graunted, but the good father refuseth so to doe, lest he should seeme to shrink, or giue the least scandall to the weaker sort, forby that he is cheerfull & merry albeit in the common prison & roome wt the greatest malefaitors who doe much regarde & respect him, & whome he laboureth much to rescue frome heresie, & instruct in fayth & piety. verbo, he is mortis or Martyrii sitientissimus.”

Father Macbrek was released from prison early in 1654, and had to leave Scotland at once.

SCOTS COLLEGES ABROAD—THE JESUITS

“Fr. W. Christie (Douay) to Fr. Adam Gordon (Rome)
10 March 1654.

“F. James Macbrek arrived here the 3 of this be London banished be the council at Edinburgh, English and Scottish, without caution, or summes of mony required, which he refused offering himself to suffer death for soe good a cause, his coorage and zeale, be the helpe of God, hath been soe to the admiration of haeretiques, and great consolation to al Catholiques who are augmenting daily. Ours are in health and labour their, sed operarii pauci.”

After Father Macbrek's arrival at Douai, says Oliver, “we unfortunately lose all trace of him.” The Blairs papers supply the deficiency. He was Procurator at Paris from 1654 to 1671, and died at Douai on the 20th September 1680; he must have been about ninety years old.

He has left a large number of letters written in a hand difficult to read, with an original method of spelling, but without any distinctive literary quality, mostly about the financial difficulties of the College and disputes with the Seculars at the Scots College, Paris. He gives no regular news from Scotland, but has many references to the arrival in Paris of Scottish men of good family, who were Catholics or favourably inclined to the Catholic cause:—

“Paris. 7 Aug. 1655.¹ Ther is heere my Lord Abercorne second sonne,² of laiet become Catholik, ane verie good and suiet youet, brother to the Douke of Lennox or Richmont (now latley dead) by his mother, who intends to make ane start to Roume, and see if by monyes, helpe, and commendation of good freinds, he may make ane fortune to himselfe; seing al my Lord his father estaiet is gone, and that the Douke of Richmont (his brother on mother saied) is dead, upon whome he most relayed. I intret you if he comme to your quarters, to dou him all the courtesy, and best assistens you cane, for in douing that to him, you wil oblige all that Nobil family, of the which family thir was many special & real good freinds to ours of the Societe, and nominatim my Lord his Father, when he had ane estaiet,

¹ In Father Macbrek's letters uu is invariably written instead of w. To make the reading easier, the modern form has been used throughout this volume.

² “My Lord Abercorne second sonne” is William Hamilton, afterwards a “colonel in the army, who was killed in the wars in Germany” (*Scots Peerage*, I, p. 49).

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as laikuaies all his anteats, Nobil Ladyes, who all specially affectet all ours. . . .”

Names are mentioned of several Scottish youths who were admitted to the Jesuit College in Paris. William Stuart was there in August 1655 “of ane good birth and wel condissionat, knoun also to ours in Douay . . . he had ane great inclination for the Societe.” In September of the same year passed through on his way to Rome “the sonne of Lard of Nadraye two mills from Edimbrocht, ane verie siuiel and hopefoul gentelman.” Father Macbrek gives a curious account of the arrival at Clermont College of a poor Scottish scholar named James Gordon, a nephew of Father James Anderson, who had come from Rome, and had been detained *en route* by illness for some weeks at Marseilles. He spells the name of this town in three different ways in about as many lines :—

“F. J. Macbrek (Paris) to F. Gilbert Talbot (Rome)
27th Aug. 1655.

“Fr. Montieth wrets to me the 13 of this, from Marchils, of Mr Gordon signaes of ane tertian fafuer; and to send him monyes both to repaye what the Residens of Marcheils, which is verie poure, hes deboursed, and monyes to make his journey hirther afther that he is conualesset. Of this I did wret to the prokuratour af Marsaiels, to fornish him with what is necessary, and I shal refond all. . . .”

“Same to same. 5th October 1655.

“The 4 of October by mire chance or rather by Gods Diuine prouidens James Gordon, (our uter court being foull of scollers and many of ours there, and I amunst the rest comming from hearing of the praysons of the now maisters, for that daye was the first entry of the schouls), camme to me, and demandeat for Far. Macbrec. I instantly coniecturing it was he, camme to him, and retiraet myselfe to ane cornaier that non sould perseauue ws, because I saye him in ane such poure equipage, that the pourest scholaer that hants our schouls was not in ane worst. so for feaire that any of ours sould take any notis of him, and knowe him afteruards in the Nouitiat I causet him to go fourth to summe hous neare the collige and I sould send Jhone Inglis, my owne Nepheu, to him with 10 crownes to pit him in ane honest condition before he sould be perseauet by any, and that for the creadit of our Nation; for it wald bring ane verie great disgrease to us all that he had conspiraet in that manouer. . . .”

SCOTS COLLEGES ABROAD—THE JESUITS

In November, Father Macbrek writes that :—

“ Father Alex. Olgeby, who was many years in England, is comme to Scotland, but as F. Gall wrets to me, multum mutatus ab illo, so alteret, he is ane excellent operarius, prouoding his health wil serue him. . . . I am indeuoring to optine in the prouins of Toulouse ane plaise for James Semple,¹ my Lord brother, who is willing to giaue 50 crownes a yeare douring his Nouitiat. I winder what has become of Fr Joane Macbrec douring thes hard tymes in Pollant, if your R. hes hard of him I pray you acquentet me.”²

In a letter dated 13th August 1655, Father Macbrek sends on to Rome a remarkable account of the death of Lady Haddington, daughter to the second Marquis of Huntly, and niece of Argyle, which, as far as I know, has not yet found its way into any history of the period. George Gordon, second Marquis of Huntly, was beheaded at Edinburgh in 1649; “ he dyed as he liued more atheist then christian lyke,” says Father Gall. Father Macbrek, who was then working on the Mission :—

“ . . . went into Edinb. & remayned there 5 dayes space offering daily to hazard to go to him, & sending word wt the Lady Seton and Arth. Duncan, but he still did putt off, & when it came to the last day he pretended danger.”³

His daughter Jean had given up her religion, under the influence of Argyle, and married Thomas, second Earl of Haddington, in 1640. In 1643 she came into contact with Father Gilbert Blakhal, and tried to prevent him removing to France the daughter of the Countess of Aboyne. Her attitude, says Blakhal, was due to the fact that she “ had become a precise puritane and is much opposed to the design . . . to put Henriette to the Queen of France, not for any other cause but only for religion ” (*Narration*, p. 161).

Jean Gordon, Lady Haddington, appears once more on the historical stage in a rôle, which, if the story is true, places her alongside the harpies who gloated over the bloodshed of

¹ James Semple “ entered Douai College when 12 years old in 1649. He became a Jesuit in 1656. In 1669 he was sent to Madrid and died there ” (*Scots Peerage*, VII, p. 557).

² John Macbrek, a cousin of James, suffered imprisonment in Scotland, and was exiled in 1627. He spent the rest of his life in Poland. Sir Thomas Urquhart mentions him as “ eminent for his literature in Pole ” (*Works*, p. 261). He died at Warsaw in 1670.

³ Letter from Fr. Gall to Fr. And. Leslie, July 1649.

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the French Revolution. Few women of noble birth have ever played such a part. When the noble Montrose was driven through the streets of Edinburgh, "in his bearing there shone forth such lofty majesty, dignity, and undaunted composure that even his enemies were abashed, and the spectators amazed. Their insults and curses melted into tears and praise" (Wishart's *Montrose*, p. 324). But the "precise puritan" was not so easily moved to emotion:—

"Of many thowsand beholderies onely the Laddie Jean Gordon, Countess of Haddington did publicklye insult and laucht at him. whereon a gentillman in the streit he cryed up to hir that it bacam hir better to sit upon the cart for her adulteries."¹

John Buchan, in his recent book on Montrose (London, 1928), justly observes that "there seems to be no contemporary evidence for the vices with which the writer in the *Wigton Papers* charges the lady (see Willcock, *The Great Marquess [Argyle]*, p. 232 n.)." There is no evidence, so far, except that of the "gentillman in the streit," who represents tradition. And the Rev. John Willcock, the historian to whom Mr Buchan refers his readers, has no use for tradition. "There is not the faintest evidence," he writes, "to show that there was any ground for the charge of immorality. A few months after her marriage she had lost the husband to whom she had been passionately attached, and she had now been a widow for ten years. Aytoun cannot have been ignorant of these facts, and yet he weaves the calumny into [his ballad]:—

‘The painted harlot by his side,
She shook through every limb.’²

This is not what we expect to find in ‘Cavalier’ lays, if we are under the impression that the Cavaliers represent the gentlemanly interest" (*The Great Marquess*, p. 232 n.).

Father Macbrek's evidence shows that perhaps this time "the gentlemen" are right after all. Lady Haddington died in the summer of 1655,³ and the strange manner of her death, as related by Father Macbrek, confirms tradition, and justifies Aytoun:—

"Fr. Macbrek (Paris) to Fr. Talbot (Rome) 13 Aug. 1655.

¹ *Wigton Papers* in *Miscellany*, Maitland Club, Vol. IV, pp. 316, 369 n.

² "The Execution of Montrose" in *Poems of W. E. Aytoun*, p. 19, Oxford, 1921.

³ *Scots Peerage*, Vol. IV, p. 316.

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“Lady Hadingtoun (summetymes Catholik, the Markis of Huntly that was behedead dochtour, and who did hender me to haue acces to hir father before his death) dyed latly efter a lamentabil maner. Being perplexed with unease of consciens, before receuing hir Caluinian supper, shee wald confesse hir greater sinnes to ane young minister, hir owne chapelaine; who hauing hard all, in lieu of giuen hir confort, told hir she must nieds reuil hir selfe to hir Pastor, which refusing to doe, he as not estiming himselfe obliget to secresy went and did it for hir; the paris minister in the preparatiue sermon, discouered all hir secret sinnes publikly before all, adding that such sinnes deserued publik infamy and penns; she hearing hir secret sinnes so published did presently fall into a must fourious fit of phrenisy in the church before all; was carraied into the minister hous as the nirest, where she diied chortly after, persisting in hir phrenisy fits, praying stil, must I then diie without confession, or confort, coursing hirselle & hir destine, eay [yea] and blaspheming outragiouslye, hir raige was so exorbitant that she did beitt off the thumbe of a maide that assistet hir; so I hope this may be ane warning to all others. . . .”

A few incidents like this would certainly tend to discourage the practice of auricular confession among the Covenanters.¹

A considerable number of Father Macbrek's letters are full of complaints about the way he is treated by Mr Barclay, Principal of the Scots College, Paris. The details of these disputes have little interest at the present day, but the fact must be emphasised that they were serious, and that they interfered with the progress of the mission in Scotland. The following lengthy extract will perhaps provide a sufficient sample of the correspondence:—

“Fr. Macbrek (Paris) to Fr. Francis Dempster (Rome)
5 Sept. 1659.

“Sins my last to your R. acording to your desayre I haue send James Tayry, the best and must hopfoull youth of all the Scots Collige heere; but God knouis best what ane debait I haue had with Mr Barclay, and what compliments he hes mead heere to the Prayor of the Charterous, and to others special persons with whome I haue frequently adow for plaising of thes, that commis from our country in the now

¹ Presbyterian ministers did not consider themselves bound to secrecy, and gave no absolution. The infliction of a penance, by the Kirk Session, was the only portion of the Catholic Sacrament which they retained.

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Conuerty hous;¹ and this all by the moyens of the Prayor of Charterous; that I dow nothing but debauches thes of his hous, and intendens to make ane Nouitiat of that hous for our Colliges; for my owne parte, I could wis nauer one of that hous ware reseaut in any of our housaes, which, if it ware, they walde perhaps compline more at that, and then we may haue iuste raison to lat them know that they are the occasion of that themselves. I did lat Mr Barclay know that the best pristis they had in Scotland ware all meade at Roume, and the fondatour of that hous walde wisset no better then it ware ane good Nouitiat for hir housaes, prouoding thes that camme from that hous did attine to the final ende, which was to be Churchmen to helpe the contry. Now for the present, ther is tuo youths in the Now Conuerty hous, which both I did cause please ther, now ther tyme is neare expiret, they ware both commendet to me by our Fathers of Douay. The first that camme to me, his name is Jhone Clarke, ane Bouchan youth, and ane minister sonne; he apires to me wel condissionat; but yet because so many of our Nation daley please the roge, and thes tuo yeare bypast tuo of thes that ware recomendet to me by ours of Douay, as Colbourne and ane Forbeis, so now I take no assourens of any that are send to me; The other is George Maleny bourne in our Hylands under Zeayforth, apires to haue ane good sagesse and desayrous to studie to phisike, and become ane Phisitioner; non of thes wil Mr Barclay admit, as for the seconde, I thinke Mr Barclay hes raison, in regarde he intends not to be ane Churchman, but as for the other, that is tractabil and willing to applay himselfe to what they shal iuge him fit, I see no raison wherfore he sould not be admittet, specially now, being please in that hous. As for that I wil haue no melling, knoing this wald hochly offende Mr Barclay, for when I did spaike to him anent Mr Tayry he replayet to me that I thoct to cause him reseae thes that I had plaiset in the Now Conuerty hous, which he promiset nauer to dow, my ansouer to that was, he nicht dow in that as he plaiset: I had no melling therein. So now thes youths, seing no remedy, both intends for Roume, and both for this cause camme to me; my replaye to them was that I had no commission for sending any thether nor wald I send any onlesse I had expres order. . . .”

In a previous letter, dated 24th October, 1656, Father

¹ I cannot identify this “New Converts’ House” which is often mentioned in the correspondence of the Jesuit Fathers.

SCOTS COLLEGES ABROAD—THE JESUITS

Macbrek says that James Tayry, "who camme with Mr Ballantin," was studying Divinity in the Scots College "agens my aduise," and that he was "verie fit for our Societe, he is ane excelent sprit, which daley is confirmet to me by thes that did studie with him at St. Andreous."¹

From the correspondence of Father Macbrek it is evident that he had no confidence in the work that was being done at the Scots College under Mr Barclay, and that he was not unwilling to divert from the Seculars into his own Order any promising student with whom he was able to get into contact. He was so often successful that Mr Barclay had to forbid his students at the Scots College to visit Clermont, or to have any correspondence with the Jesuit professors and students:—

"Fr. Macbrek. May 11. 1656, to Fr. Talbot (Rome).

"For Mr Barclay hes his owne apprehensions concerning thes of his colige that frequents me, yea I heare he did uther that much that he wald haue non of his collige to haue any commerce uith Claermont Collige."

Some justification of the attitude taken up by Father Macbrek and his predecessors at Clermont College towards the Secular clergy may perhaps be found in the history of the Scots College, Paris, during the first half of the seventeenth century. That institution, as far as can be known from the scanty records that have survived, had not fulfilled the expectations of its founders, had provided very few priests for Scotland, and was therefore perhaps rather naturally regarded by the Jesuit Fathers as an unsuitable training centre for promising seminarists.

Owing to his excessive zeal to obtain students, Father Macbrek was more than once imposed upon by impostors. He gives some account in his letters of his unfortunate experience with Alexander Gordon, to whose name the following note is attached in the Register of the Scots College, Rome:—

"Alexander Gordon, Brother to Lismore. All the attempts possible were made by him to get admittance into the Scots

¹ James Tyrie, grand-nephew of the celebrated Jesuit Father James Tyrie, went to the Scots College, Rome, in 1659, and left on the pretext of ill health in 1662. Father Macbrek wrote on 18th November, 1661: "I am sorry Mr Tayry is giving so small satisfaction not following his grand uncle that wirthy persone footsteps. . . ." He afterwards "became a Protestant and teachd in St Andrews with great plause and is esteemed a great witt" (Andrew Magee, 30th October 1669).

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College in Paris. Messrs Barclay and Walker stood firm, and would not receive him. He was sent to Rome by the Jesuits, who complained grievously of the Superiors in Paris to Cardinals of Propaganda. Without Orders he went to Germany, entered among the Scots monks, whom he soon left, and thereafter made no secret of his having come abroad merely as a spy on these places of Catholic education."

This Gordon was the second son of Sir William Gordon, of Lesmoir.¹ Father Macbrek had known the family when he was in Scotland during the campaigns of Montrose, and it is probably of himself he writes when he says that a priest, shortly after the battle of Alford, converted "Jane Gordon of Lesmore."²

On the 1st of September, 1656, he writes to the Rector of the Scots College, Rome, as follows:—

"Ane Gordon of the house of Lesmore, who was ane minister hard by Bandaloch, is cumme to Paris, with whome both F. Grant and F. George Leslie did wret to me in his fauoiers, and if I could not haue him plasaed heere in Paris, to send him to your Rns. He camme to me, not hauing ane farding in his pokaet, I wald haue ministers wel traiet before sending any sic persons to any of ours colliges. . . ."

Mr Barclay, at the Scots College, refused to have anything to do with him. Father Macbrek could not understand this. Letters in favour of the young minister had come not only from the Jesuit Fathers in Scotland, but from various people of standing in the North. Gordon had even succeeded in making the acquaintance of St Vincent de Paul. "He intends," writes Father Macbrek, "to procure from Mr Vincent letters of commendations to Propaganda" (15. June. 1657).

He arrived at Rome early in 1658, and apparently made a good impression. Father Christie wrote on 24th March:—

"I am glade ye Minister does ueale, F. Grant sayes he uas honest and suffert much, giuing good exmple to others."

The Rector of the Roman College must have written to complain that Alexander Gordon had arrived in rags, and without any money, for Father Macbrek replies on 1st February, 1658:—

"Of the minister miserabil estaiet the fault was not myen,

¹ J. M. Bulloch, *House of Gordon*, II, p. 74.

² Forbes Leith, *Memoirs*, I, p. 345.

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nor wald I haue send him if your Rns. had not wreting to me in yours of the 23 of Jully thes words (if you canne not accomodat the Minister ther, send him heere, and I shal doe for him what I canne). And they ware both departet before I gaet your contermends. . . .”

The “minister” left Rome in September, 1658, and arrived in Germany shortly after :—

“Letter from Abbot Macarius Camerarius, Abbot of S. James’, Ratisbon to Father Dempster, Rector in Rome 9th December 1658.

“The two yong men Baylie and Gordon arryued saiffie at Wirtzburg, wher Baylie remaining; and becaus (at ther arrivall) the Abbot hed intelligence that ther was 4 youths arryued at Amsterdam from Scotland to come to Wirtzburg & thinking himself with such number to be sufficientlie prouyded, he slighted Mr Alex. Gordon & directed him upon Regensburg, whome I wilingle resaued, & gaue him the habit of probation upon St. Andrews Day last.”¹

On 27th June, 1659, Father Macbrek writes to Rome :—

“The Minister Gordon is laift the moniks and giues out that he camme only to be ane spaye, etc., God kaipe us from such roges, we haue but tuo many of such persons.”

Alexander Gordon was not the only traitor in the camp. In an earlier letter the Jesuit Father had already complained of the deception practised by two other Scottish youths :—

“Paris. 7th March 1659.

“That roge Coolebourne that wret the 2 or 3 leaines to your Rns. with my last letter, after I hath causet him be pleaset in the Now Conuerty hous, he laeft it insalutate hospite, and tould he hath no intention to be Cath. Fr. Spreul commendet him to me. the last yeare ane Forbois commendet to me be F. Cresty did the laike, so such douings douis crake my credit. . . .”

The letters from Paris and Douai, from 1655-60, report a renewal of the persecution in Scotland. The short period of comparative liberty which the Catholics enjoyed after the arrival of Cromwell led to such an increase in numbers, especially in the North, that some anxiety began to be felt among the members of the religious faction, which then

¹ Chambers was Abbot at Ratisbon from 1658-72.

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governed the country. Baillie complained that "the hand of power is not heavy on any for matters of religion, no not on the Quakers, who are open railers against the Protector's person; yea we hear of little trouble [*i.e.* persecution] of Papists, who grow much on the North of Scotland, more than these eighty years, without any controul. We expect our Councill of State will see to it."¹

The Jesuit Fathers appreciated the situation correctly. In June, 1655, Father Macbrek wrote from Paris to warn his colleague at Rome of impending trouble:—

"I heare now, and daley it is confirmaed, that ther is laike to be ane sare presequen agens all manaier of Catholiques, and now lauies and statutes daley makaine agens them, yea Cromuel intends if possibil he cane make ane protestant ware, & declaire himselfe protectour of all protestans trocht the whole world. I pray God destroy all his bad intentions, and designes. . . ."

In 1656 the Council of State had begun "to see to it":—

"Fr. Macbrek to Fr. Talbot May 28th 1656.

". . . I receaue letters from F. Gal with the declaration of Cromuel Consouil agens Jesuites etc. . . . heere the Declaration was tournet in Francie, and I did lat our Quine and sondres others see it, as the Nontio, and many other special persons, giuing them copies therof. Mr Waker comming for ane I told he could not haue it before Fraidy. . . . F. Gal wrets of ane hauey persecution agens all cathilikes, being all sommeant to compaire before the Cirquits iugaes, and they now begin in the south, as my Lord Sempail, his Lady, and all the seruants must compaire at Glasco, and also Mr Wod nominating alias Spreauil, and to be censouraet for the crime of Popery, and for resetting Mr Wod. Mr Meldrum al. Gordon [*i.e.* Fr. Adam Gordon] with Father Gal intends with all expedition to the North. Our Ministers nauer in Cromuell tyme did rage as for the present. . . ."

Instructions were issued by the Council for "a strict inquirie after all papists" on the 5th June, 1656.² On 17th July, Father Christie reports the persecution with his usual economy of words:—

"I desired F. Gall to urite particularly uhat oures hade done, uhat persones, and hou many conuerted, seing the

¹ Baillie, *Letters and Journals*, III, p. 291. Baillie to Spang, December 1655.

² *Scotland and the Protectorate*, S.H.S. 31, p. 329, Edinburgh, 1899.

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saeculars doe brag soe much of their actiones. He urites to me in general that their is ane persecution, Catholiques cited, Preests hiding themselues, some gone to ye hylands, lodging forbidden to them, some sacred ornaments taken, and scoffed at, this is uriten and diuulgate be many others, not pertaining to oures only. . . .”

About a fortnight earlier, on 30th June, Father Macbrek had told the same story, with a few additional details :—

“ Father Gall in his last to me wretis of the inccessing of the present persecution in Scotlant, and that they are all sought for euery where South & Northe ; all Papistes summond to compeere before the circuit Judges, & such as compeere not, ether for disease, or any other laufoul impediment, ar sent for by a compaine, or partie of souldiers, & thus forced to compaire & giaue ther oathe if they heare masse, or harbour Prides. The Ministers are dealing with the Councill to haue them all banished & their estates confiscat. The President of the Councill at Edimbr. doth fauoris much presbyterians, & hath granted unto them a Synod at Edimbr. Mr Wod, alias Mr Sprieul, is a wandering knight, and declaret fugitiue for not compeering ; Little Mr Gray, alias Mr Smith, was a most caught in the nette latelie, his furnitoure and ornaments war takin in Gossips, that is Robert Wring hous,¹ & worne at the market crosse of Aberdne by insolent souldiers.”

Father Francis Dempster, S.J., one of the most energetic and successful missionaries who went to Scotland in the second half of the seventeenth century, was captured in 1657 as a result of the hunt set on foot by the Council of State. He had been a student at the Scots College, Rome, from 1628 to 1631 and afterwards held the post of Rector twice, from 1646 to 1649 and from 1658 to 1663. He was sent to Scotland in 1654, and on his way through Paris wrote to Father Adam Gordon, giving some account of his journey and prospects :—

“ Fr. Francis Dempster (Paris) to Fr. Adam Gordon (Rome). 6. August, 1654.

“ After many hindes and dangers in the way (for onlie betwixt Genua and Marsyles I consumed 18 dayes be reasone of the badde weather) I arryued to Paris the 22 of julie, wher

¹ Gossip Robert Irwing [Irvine], referred to in other letters. This incident is mentioned in Bellesheim's *History*, IV, p. 60, where the name of the householder is given as Robert Warring, an inaccuracy derived from Gordon's *Scotichronicon*.

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I did receave of our Scottes fathers al sort of courtesie and hartinesse. tomorrow if it please God I shall goe for Deip or Cales to find occasione to embarck me for England. It is thought dangerous to enter in now, be reasone of the great inquisitione that after the laite conspiracie against Cromwell is made of al persones, bot I think ther is alwayes more sayd then in trouth is. Houeuer it be, I resolue my selfe ther can be nothing doone in al our missione without danger, and who is resolved to liue without danger, he must choise one other style and one other occupatione.

"I shall use al ordinaire circumspectnesse, and leauing al uther caire to God who sendeth me. Mr Ballentine¹ was gone for Deip befor I did arryue heir, who for the dangers and rumours that are spread detaineth himself as yet ther, it may be that I shall find him ther, if he be not gone for Holland, as he did wreatte he was to doe, thinking it the surest way. He taketh home with him two Irish preists for our Yles, so that ther iurisdictione is limitate to those Yles. It is spreade heir be some that are laitlie come out of Scotland that our Scottes giueth daylie defaittes to the Inglish that are in Scotland, so that Cromwell can hardlie find men that will goe downe against them, and though he haue putt up one gallows threatning them hanging if they goe not, yet they are refractarie, choising rather to be hanged in England, nor goe downe and be killed in Scotland be those despaired men. Our King went from Paris a fourtnight agoe towards the Wall of Spa. for what end and purpose it is unknowne. When I shall haue occasione to wreatte things occurent I shall not omitte to wreatte. In the meane tyme hold me in the number of one of your freinds, whom you haue deuincd be your benefices. I salut hairtlie B. Patrick and all the sholers."

The story of Father Dempster's arrest and imprisonment, correctly dated by Paul Macpherson in his MS. catalogue, was incorrectly transcribed in the *Scotichronicon* as having taken place in 1651.² The following quotation, taken from the *Clarke MSS.*, shows that the Jesuit Father was suspected of political intrigues, a charge, in this case probably not true, which must have been dropped for want of evidence:—

"Dempster the Jesuite, who for several years held corre-

¹ Mr William Ballantyne, Prefect of the Mission in Scotland.

² The error was copied by Bellesheim, who seems to have confused this Jesuit Father with the historian Thomas Dempster (*Gesch. der kath. Kirche*, II, pp. 279, 286).

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spondence with Charles Stuart and Don John of Austria, apprehended at Mr Fytt's a taylor in the Canongate. Hee went by the name of Robert Logan. About June 15th 1657"¹

Father Macbrek gives an account of the arrest in a letter dated 17th August 1657 :—

“He that delated him was an Englishe soger called Owen, a runegate, who sayes he had one or two brothers priestes, & was in the waye to be one himselfe. he is still acting as a stage player, & contrefitting the prist with the vestements found by F. Dempster, causing eury one whome he admits to behold, to giue him sixpence. The rogue acted the part of a traytour gallantly, for he was on his knees when the seriant of armes with sogers came to apprehende Father Dempster, as they had conniued, and they asking what he did there; I am, replayed he, confessing my sinnes to my Goslay Father; the best ornaments wee had was fond with him. At that tyme 4 others of ours eskapiet verre nerrully also in Edimbt. great apirens of ane uniuersael chercher froucht all suspectet parts & housaes in Scotland; and this now act of Parlement signed by Cromwel agens all Catholikes causes euerewhere great fier. . . .”

From his prison in Edinburgh, Father Dempster challenged the ministers to a public discussion. The challenge was refused. He also issued a manifesto to the Catholics of Scotland; copies of both these documents are in the archives at Blairs. After a short but cruel imprisonment of between three and four months, he was released and ordered to leave the country :—

“Fr. Macbrek. 23 Nov. 1657.

“Now prays to God Fr. Dempster, as the Superior and Fr. Gall wrets to me, is at liberte, and as I wret to the General, I hope if not in Januarii at least shortly therafter shal be at Rouse to succid to your Rns. . . .”

On 24th January, 1658, Father Christie writes that Fr. Dempster had left Scotland with Father Grant :—

“We understand yat 2 months agoe they depairtet in diuers ships from Scotland, and not as yet arriuet nor any uord of them. . . . Father Grant should haue comed in summer befor ye tempests of winds, and 5 barks uith salmond

¹ *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 30.

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arriued in France from Aberdeen sauely, which he could haue used. . . .”

Towards the end of the same letter, Father Christie says :—

“ After this uas uroten F. Dempster and F. Grant arriuēt, ye first uerye ueake be reason of ye miseryes in prison, and 16 dayes upon ye sea tossed uith contrarye uinds. They report 60 ships to haue been losed in Holand and upon ye Irish coast. . . . Fr. Dempster can hardly step in his chamber for debilitye of his bodey and his legs sueld, soe if not better he uil hardly see you, this to yourself. . . .”

In February, however, Father Dempster was somewhat better, and determined to start for Rome. He travelled as far as Arras in company with Father Grant, who was on his way to Madrid. They left Douai on the 13th March :—

“ Fr. Christie (Douay) to Fr Talbot (Rome) March 24 1658.

“ From Arras Father Grant did goe one foot conuoyet be a souldiour towards Amians. the other forcet to stay as the F. Rector urote to me til ye time ane conuoy goe uith cairts, or horses uithout which he cannot trauaile. Manye doubt if euer he can come to ye old toun ; besides his bodey most unable to stand, ualk or goe, their is ane humour fallen in his hand that he must haue one to help tak of, and put on his cloaths. This to yourself . . . going from this could hardlye be put on horsebak. . . .”

On 13th April, Father Christie wrote to Rome that he had had a letter from Father Dempster on his arrival at Paris, and another :—

“ . . . shouing after he uas there letten blood and 2 potiones the 4 of April did depairt from Paris to Liones, soe I hope after medecine and easie journeyes he shal be uith you shortlye.”

According to the Register of the Scots College, Rome, Father Dempster took over his duties as Rector on 1st July, 1658, but from Father Christie's letter of the 16th September it appears that the courageous invalid was still in bad health, and that Father Talbot stayed on for a time to assist him in the government of the College.

Father Dempster returned to Scotland after the Restoration, and, finding that the Catholics enjoyed a certain measure of liberty, he renewed his attack on the ministers. This time the scene of action was at Aberdeen, and his challenge was accepted.

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A record of the controversy which took place is preserved in a tract written by his opponent, Dr John Menzies, Doctor of Divinity in Aberdeen University, entitled *Papismus Lucifugus*, and dedicated to the Lord Provost and honourable council of Aberdeen, under whose authority, wrote Dr Menzies, "this scuffle with Mr Dempster fell out."

After some preliminary discussions the meeting took place, restricted to six a side, in a private house in Aberdeen. In a preface to his tract the Professor of Divinity gives an account of the proceedings :—

"When we came to the lodging we found (contrary to promise) a great multitude of both sexes . . . the Champion, whom we afterwards understood to be Mr Dempster Jesuit, being set in a great chair at the head of the table, and a Popish youth, who had been educated at the Scots College in Paris, at his elbow, as a scrivener (who was none of the persons communed upon); we complained of the violation of promise in bringing us to such a public convention, which in the end proved tumultuary, the clamours of the excommunicated women being louder than the Jesuits arguments. . . ."

Dr Menzies declares that the Jesuit was unable to make any reply to his arguments. The meeting broke up in confusion, and the discussion was renewed on paper. The arrangement was that the Jesuit should send a written statement of his case to Menzies, who promised to return a reply. The papers thus exchanged were published by the Professor in *Papismus Lucifugus*. A widely read but pompous and self-satisfied scholar, Dr Menzies might have proved a worthy antagonist for Father Dempster if he had been able to free his mind from the fury of no-popery. His text vibrates with indignation at the idea of a "trafficking Romanist" daring to argue with him in public. It must be evident that Scotland was not yet ready for an intellectual religious discussion when a Professor in the position of Dr Menzies could use such language, and such an argument, as appears in his *Preface to the Impartial Reader* :—

"If a common whore can, as Solomon sayeth Pro. 30. 20. wip her mouth as if she had done no wickedness, is it any wonder, that the Mother of harlots and abominations of the earth, Revel. 17. 5. endeavour to palliat her villanies with flourishes of words, and School-distinctions, especially having so many thousand Jesuits and other Janisaries under pay for that effect . . . why hath the great whore upon her fore-

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head written Myserie? And if great authours doe not misinforme us, the same is written upon the Pope's Mitre."

After firing off at his opponent fragments from the Old Testament, bits of Latin from German controversialists, extracts from the Fathers, all interspersed with volleys of abusive language, Dr Menzies claimed that he had won a great victory, and no doubt most of his contemporaries agreed with him.¹ Shortly after this adventure Father Dempster returned to Douai, where he died in 1667.

But the controversy he had started in Aberdeen did not end with his death. In 1675 Dr Menzies published another tract, entitled "*Roma Mendax* ; in Confutation of an Anonymous Popish Pamphlet, undertaking the defence of Mr Dempster Jesuit."² In his old age the Professor had become more bitter than ever. He regretted the good old times when Papists dared not show their faces. He complains that his opponents still write anonymously ; why should they "vail their names," he says, "seeing they vapour openly in our streets." The language used in *Roma Mendax* sinks at times to depths such as had been sounded by Luther. One example will be sufficient for the modern reader :—

"The consciences of their bigotted Papists are so debauched with their Implicit Faith, that as Dionysius Flatterers are said to have licked up his phelgm with Exclamations, as if it had been Nectar and Ambrosia, so Jesuitical Papists are ready to swallow down greedily the most excrementitious discourse which drops from a Jesuit. . . ." (*Roma Mendax*, p. 10).

The last part of his book consists of historical arguments against the Papacy drawn from Fox's *Acts and Monuments*,³

¹ Such seems to have been the opinion of Samuel Colville, a contemporary versifier :—

But who reasons in generals
Th' argument contentions and brauls
They bring but bout-gates and golinzies
Like Dempster disputing with Menzies.

(Ed. S. Andrews, *The Whig's Supplication*, 1796, p. 224.)

² The copy of *Roma Mendax* in King's College Library, Aberdeen, was presented by the author. The "Anonymous Popish Pamphlet," entitled *Scolding no Scholarship*, etc., printed 1669, was written by Fr. Alexander Con, S.J. (brother of Patrick Con, and nephew of Fr. George Con, the Cardinal *in petto*). The Preface states that the book could not be printed in Aberdeen, "being inhibited by Public Authority (and that as is thought at Mr Menzies desire)."

³ "Holy Mr Fox, the industrious compiler of *The Book of Martyrs*" (John Menzies, Preface to *Roma Mendax*, p. 3).

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and from the Centuriators of Magdeburg, the two popular armouries of Protestant controversialists in the seventeenth century, and after. Having constructed an unprintable list of crimes alleged by these authorities against various Popes, he makes an onslaught on the monasteries: "Hath not the World heard of many thousand infants murdered in their Cloysters, their bones buried in Privies and Ponds etc. etc." (p. 358). And he concludes the historical argument with the old misrepresentation of Indulgences:—

"As Popes can dispense with sins before they be committed, so they can pardon them after they are committed.

"Who hath not heard of the *Taxa pœnitentiaria Apostolica*, wherby sins are set to sale and pardon granted for a little money, Yea in it prices are set down for his absolution who hath killed his Father, Mother, brother, or wife. . . ." [The rest is unprintable.]

The story of Father Dempster's encounter with Dr Menzies helps to explain why the Catholic reaction failed in seventeenth century Scotland. The ministers had the country well in hand; from the Reformation to the Restoration they had a clear field, cleared by pike and musket; for a hundred years they had preached, unanswered, from the pulpits, and taught, unchallenged, in the schools all over Scotland, the anti-papal propaganda which men like Dr Menzies were perfecting in the universities. The earnestness and honesty of these propagandists cannot be doubted, but they were for that reason all the more dangerous. Dr Menzies himself was famous for his zeal in the pulpit, and such was his fervour, says Wodrow, that he used "to change his shirt always after preaching, and to wet two or three napkins with tears after every sermon."¹ It is a pity that so much of this Christian endeavour should have been employed in breaking the commandment which forbids false witness, even against an enemy; even against an Antichrist, real or imaginary. Some modern historians maintain that the foundation of the Universities was one of the chief causes of the success of the Reformation in Scotland. "The light," wrote Dr J. Herkless, "spread from the Universities."² Analysis of this "light" does not always give results creditable to the scholarship and culture of Scotland, either in the sixteenth or the seventeenth century. It would not be true to say that the vulgarity of

¹ Wodrow's *Correspondence*, II, p. 222.

² *Cardinal Beaton*, Edinburgh, 1891, p. 23.

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the language used by Dr Menzies was merely a reflection of the manner of the times and was common to all parties. No Jesuit or secular priest in seventeenth century Scotland wrote in such an unseemly manner about the persecuting Kirk; and they had enough provocation to justify or excuse hard words.

After the brief period of rest enjoyed by the Scottish Catholics through the intervention of Cromwell, all hope of a Catholic revival seems to have vanished in the persecution which followed. The renewal of persecution by the Council of State in 1656, which led to the capture and exile of Father Dempster, drove the missionaries once again into hiding, and frightened back into presbyterianism the timid half-hearted laymen who had been sitting on the fence. The letters from Douai and Paris written about this time reflect the despondency prevailing in Scotland. The influence of the Jesuit Fathers was declining, and their places were being taken by Secular priests. Father Christie attributes this state of affairs to the lack of younger recruits, and to the incompetence of Father Gall :—

“ Fr Christie to Fr. Talbot. 10 Oct. 1658.

“ From Scotland ours urite noe neues bot of monyes, smal correspondence and smal fruite. I heare F. Gall urites euer to F. Macb. in name of the Supr. what he thinks good. soe long he guides or rather misguides the Supr., and haue care of ye monyes (of uich good he hath noe charge), their is noe hopes of charitye, pace or contentment, els he is ane good man for a priuat hous, not hauing commandement of men nor monyes.”

The correspondence for 1658 and 1659 repeats much of what had been said in previous years : the same difficulties about the provision of suitable students, the same shortage of money, and occasional references to the arrival of youths, missionaries from Scotland, and new converts. In September, 1657, Father Macbrek writes an interesting note about a student named Bennet, who had been sent to the Scots College, Rome¹ :—

“ His brother Mr Mungo, who now labours to diuert him, was the first cause of his douting in religion, and in tyme of

¹ In the *Douai Diary* he is described as “ Joannes Benedictus, natus in Tividalia, ex parentibus Dno. Ragoele Benedicto de Castris et Dna. Maria Humia. Ivit Romam ad Coll. Scotorum ubi paulo post obiit.”

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my impresment did uiset me dayuers tymes, and was foully intended to comme to Flanders or Roume, and become ane Catholik. Also he did acquent me howe the Primaer of Edimbrt. Mr Daid Dik after he had proposet his douts to him, and replaying to his answers; at laste for all solution, saied to him; Apage Jesuitele. more of this you uil heare of Mr Bennet himselfe. . . .”¹

On 10th February, 1658, Father Christie writes to Father Talbot a letter in which he packs his news so tightly that it is not always intelligible :—

“Al goes urong and noe greate hope of remead, bot rather to lose more to the destruction of religion in thir pairts, al proceeding of the heads. . . . Cromuel hath conueened his parliament to be King. in the meantime Catholiques are persecute uith lose of their goods. God grant the french uold quite him. F. Grant declares al tooching the North, many Catholiques remane constant of those in my time, and greate hopes of others be reason of the dissension amongst the haeretiques, which mak them odious. your brother is kind, bot noe hopes of conuersion nor of anything except you come yourself. . . .”

The political events of the time are very briefly noted by Father Christie, who does not say anything about Cromwell's death (3rd September, 1658). Probably some of his letters are missing. On the 16th June, 1659, he writes to Father Dempster at Rome :—

“Of ye broiles in London, deposition of Cromuel [Richard], and erection of a neu Puritane parliament, noe particulares certane as yet of ye euent, time uil trie.”

He seems to have lost interest in political affairs. A postscript, however, to his letter of 19th August says: “It is writen that our King is going, or gone to Ingland.”

In a letter dated 27th June, 1659, Father Macbrek sends news received from Father James Anderson, who at last had achieved his heart's desire, and was off to the “land of caikes,” to “drink his pynt of aill in the raws of Strathbogie” :—

“Fr. James Andersone did wret to me the first of this

¹ “Mr David Dik” is David Dickson, Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh, best known for his alleged comment on the massacre of Philiphaugh: “the work goes bonnily on.” He also earned distinction as one of the five ministers who badgered Montrose on the scaffold.

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month from London, which daye he did take journey for Scotland, that nather Parlement, nor army douis agraeie, and that the army is laike to dissolve this Parliement, as they did the formel; and that Monke, nor Henry Cromuel wil obey til they see summe better settlement. Now the report gois that wrocht all London the pepil craies for ther King, and that Prime (who in the beginning, and before all thes broiles had his hearis cautet for spaiking agens the King, and Clarge)¹ now is spreading libels wrocht all London, and craing til they restore the richt aiere nauer shal they haue paise, or any satling. Quantum mutatus ab illo."

Father Macbrek was accurately informed of what was going on in England, and realised that the current of popular opinion had now turned in the King's favour. In September, 1659, he writes that :—

"The Kings party daley incresses in England, and the report gois that it is aboue 15 thousand men strong, it is also wreat from London of ane child nowly bourne, with tuo tounge, and four taet, spaiking A King! A King! This Lady Insequine did wret to hir Lord² heere at Paris, and Minister Cousing dochter to hir father heere in Paris. . . ."

Eight months later, in May, 1660, the King landed at Dover and was welcomed in London with wild enthusiasm. "I stode in the Strand and beheld it," wrote Evelyn, "and blessed God."³ This enthusiasm was not shared by the Scottish Jesuit Fathers. Father Christie wrote to Rome on the 6th April, 1660 :—

"Al doe expect ye King is to be called to Ingland be ye Presbyterianes meanes, greatest enemyes to Catholiques, who tho he be clement, they wil tye his handes, yat he can doe nothing. God his wil be done, who easilye can anihilat their attempts. . . ."

¹ Probably Doctor Alexander Leighton, father of Bishop Robert Leighton, whose ears had been removed because he had advised members of Parliament to "smite the prelates under the fifth rib" (Burnet, *History of my own Time*, Oxford, 1897, Vol. I, p. 239).

² Murrough O'Brien, sixth Baron Inchiquin, was made Earl of Inchiquin in 1654.

³ *Diary*, II, p. 148.

CHAPTER IV

THE SCOTS COLLEGES ABROAD—PARIS

Foundation of the Scots College, Paris, in the fourteenth century—Obscurity of its early history—Names of the Principals during the first half of the seventeenth century—David Camerarius, historian and Principal—His correspondence with the father of a young officer in the Douglas Regiment; with an Aberdeenshire Laird living in exile at Vaison—Mr Thomas Chambers, Almoner to Cardinal Richelieu—What the Almoner was doing in Scotland in the year 1637—Richelieu and the Covenanters.

THE Scots College, Paris, was founded under the auspices of King Robert the Bruce.¹ By contract, dated 28th February, 1325, David, Bishop of Moray, bought a "hostel ou Manoir" at Grisy-Suines.² This farm consisted of 120 arpents of plough land, 12½ arpents and 20 verges of meadow land. The price paid was 1000 livres, "de bons parisis petits";³ and the revenue, 50 livres, was to be expended on the education of four poor students from the Diocese of Moray at the University of Paris. This arrangement was confirmed by Letters Patent granted to the Bishop and his successors by King Charles IV, "Le Bel," in 1326. Bursaries were to be presented to suitable students by the Bishops of Moray (the names of seventeen Bishops, who succeeded David, from 1335-1573, are given in the *Necrologium* with the title of Provisor). The scholars were at first received at the College Cardinal Lemoine, one of the oldest Colleges of the University of Paris, but, as the Scottish and French students did not agree, the Scots College obtained in 1333 complete autonomy, and also full control of the property at Grisy. The poor scholars of the Grisy Foundation had no residence of their own in Paris, and during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries made little mark in the history of the University. In the first half of the sixteenth century the buildings of Grisy were in ruins and the funds alienated. In 1559 the College was saved

¹ "9 Julii 1329 obiit Invictissimus Princeps Robertus Brusius Scotorum Rex, sub cujus auspiciis hoc collegium fundatum est" (*Necrologium Collegii Scotorum Parisiensis*).

² Seine-et-Marne, arrondissement de Melun, canton de Brie-Comte-Robert.

³ The "livre parisis" was then worth about ten shillings in modern money.

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from extinction by Thomas Wynterhop, a Scottish priest, who with funds provided by Queen Mary, repaired the farm-buildings and obtained in the French Courts a decree restoring the bursaries to Scottish students.¹

When the last Bishop of Moray, Patrick Hepburn, died in 1573, Archbishop James Beaton, the last surviving member of the ancient Scottish Hierarchy, took the Scots College, Paris, under his protection. He purchased a house in the Rue des Amandiers, established the students there, and left it to the College in his will.² He obtained financial assistance from Queen Mary in her English prison, and left all his possessions to the College at his death, in 1603, thus acquiring and deserving the title of second Founder. The fusion of the old and new establishments was not, however, completed till 1639, when, by Letters Patent granted in December of that year, Louis XIII sanctioned the union of the Grisy foundation with the community of the "poor Scottish scholars, professing the Catholic Apostolic and Roman Religion founded and established Rue des Amandiers at the Scots College."³

The College was removed in 1662 by the Principal, Robert Barclay, to a new site in the Rue des Fosses S. Victor (now Rue Cardinal Lemoine), where the building can still be seen with its inscription over the entrance: "Collège des Écossais." The old house in the Rue des Amandiers was sold in 1846.⁴ The farm at Grisy still remains, after six hundred years of history, the property of the Scottish Hierarchy, and the

¹ Thomas Wynterhop was certainly one of the most distinguished men of his time, and yet, by a curious trick of history, he has hitherto remained almost unknown to historians. In printed records his name is seldom mentioned. Thomas Dempster says that he was well known in Paris, where he lived a long time and wrote two books (*Hist. Eccles. Gentis Scot.*, Vol. II, p. 665). A Chartulary of the University of Paris contains the name of Thomas Winterhop, who is described as "Nationis quæstor" (*Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris*, tome XVIII, p. 79). He was several times procurator of the University of Paris, and he was also the first Principal of the Scots College, or College of Grisy (*Necrologium*). *The First Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission* (Vol. I, p. 121) states that in the Library of the Catholic Bishop of Edinburgh "there is a MS. in folio, upon vellum," containing, *inter alia*, "a History of the Scottish College at Paris, written by Thomas Wynterhope." Winterhop speaks of himself as a native of Galashiels, and a Master of Arts of Glasgow University (see Appendix I).

² Printed in *Diocesan Letters of Glasgow*, Vol. I, p. 229 (Grampian Club).

³ *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris*, tome XXXIX, pp. 45-50, Paris, 1912; Raunié, *Épithaphier du vieux Paris*, tome III; *Statuta Collegii Scot. Parisiensis*.

⁴ *Épithaphier du vieux Paris*, p. 520.



LA FERME DES ÉCOSSAIS, GRISY.

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revenue is used for the training, in French seminaries, of a number of Scottish students.

Very little is known of the interior history of the College during the seventeenth century. "We have to wait until the beginning of the eighteenth century," writes M. Daumet, "to obtain precise details of the function and administration of the College."¹ The difficulty of reconstructing even an outline of the history of the College since its second foundation has been increased by the fact that so many of its records disappeared at the time of the French Revolution. If Registers of students were kept, they have been lost. Even the names of the Principals have been forgotten. Scottish historians have endeavoured, not very successfully, to supply this deficiency. Bishop Forbes, of Brechin, in his Preface to *Kalendar of Scottish Saints* (p. xxxviii, Edinburgh, 1872), has given some of the names correctly, but his dates are all wrong. He gives no references, so I am unable to discover how he had been misled. Mgr John Ritchie, who has collected some useful information about the Scots Colleges abroad in his *Reflections on Scottish Church History*, says (p. 273):—

"It is not clear who were the first holders of the office of Principal; it is only from 1643 onwards that the line of succession is known for certain. From that year till 1662 George Leith was in charge."

This is not correct. With the help of evidence taken from the documents at Blairs College, it is possible to construct a list of the Principals with, in some cases, proximate dates of their terms of office. The *Necrologium* gives the names of the Principals, and the dates of their death, but does not mention the dates of their appointment.

LIST OF PRINCIPALS OF THE SCOTS COLLEGE, PARIS

Thomas Wynterhop. 1559 (?)–1591 (?); died 1591.
William Lumsden.² 1604–(?); died 5. June 1624.

¹ *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris*, p. 50.

² William Lumsden's name occurs in the *Necrologium* as Principal of the College, but his identity and history remain unknown. The following note, without any reference, occurs in the MS. collection of Bishop Geddes (1793), fol. 64: "On the 21st December, 1604, Mr Lumsden was made Principal of the Scots College at Paris, being the first named by the Prior of the Carthusians in consequence of Archbishop Beaton's foundation."

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Alexander Pendrick. ¹	1622 (or earlier) to (?); died 1662.
David Chambers.	1637 (or earlier) to 1641; died 1641.
George Leith.	1641-1651 (<i>circa</i>); died (?).
Gilbert Blakhal.	1651-1653; died 1. July 1671.
George Leith.	For a few months in 1653.
Robert Barclay.	1653-1682; died 7. Feb. 1682.

Barclay's epitaph in the Scots College says that "he died aged 70 in the 30th year of his rule" (*Épitaphier du vieux Paris*, Vol. III, p. 529).

Until further sources of information can be tapped, the interior history of the College during the first half of the seventeenth century must remain incomplete. But the Statutes codified in 1707 and now in the Bibliothèque Mazarin in Paris (a copy is at Blairs) may be taken to represent its organization in the previous century. The Staff, under the rule of the Carthusian Prior for the time being, in accordance with the testament of Archbishop Beaton, consisted of the Principal, the Procurator, who looked after the financial business, and the Prefect of Studies, under whose direction the students attended lectures at the University of Paris. A regulation not without significance laid down that a Principal who should be absent for more than three months without special leave from the Prior was to forfeit his salary, and, if he was away for more than six months his post, *ipso facto*, became vacant. From such a regulation it may perhaps be deduced that at some period of the history of the College the Principals had not been too attentive to their duties. It is significant also that Alexander Pendrick, David Chambers, and George Leith should all three have held Priories presented to them by the French political Cardinals. The holding of absentee benefices was so common in France, during the first half of the seventeenth century, that it was no longer regarded as an abuse. Clerical consciences had become accustomed to this comfortable practice, which continued almost unchecked until the revival of French Catholicism under the leadership of St Vincent de Paul and Père Olier. Such evidence as I have been able to find about the conduct of Alexander Pendrick as Principal of the College is not to his credit. A report to the Congregation of Propaganda by two

¹ Abbé Paul Macpherson wrote that Alexander Pendrick was "from the Diocese of Aberdeen; entered the Scots College, Rome, in 1608, became Priest, and was Principal of our College at Paris. I could learn nothing further concerning him" (MS. Catalogue). There is a reference in the *Douai Diary* for 1622 to "Domino Pendrice, Principal of Paris."

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Franciscan Fathers in 1623 says that, though the College could maintain twenty students, only two were in residence, and that under the rule of Alexander Pendrick it had almost ceased to exist (*fere omnino extinctum est*). The Franciscans declared that "unless some action is taken quickly, the seminary will be done for, which indeed would be deplorable."¹ As a result of this report, Alexander Pendrick ought to have been removed from his post, but, from a letter written by his brother Robert in 1637, it looks as if he had at that time only quite recently left the College, and that shortly after leaving he had also resigned his Priory, much to his brother's dismay:—

"R. Pendrick (Rome) to David Chambers (Paris) 27. Oct. 1637.

"A while agoe I wreit to my brother in your paquet annent that resignation he made unto me, showing him that untill I had his ansuer I would not suffer any other latter disposition to pass here in the Datarie. I long to heare his ansuer, which I doe not intend to contervein be what it please, till which time I must be silent, and wreit none to him. I pray to lett me know how and wt whome he lieues, for unles I heare from you I shall be altogether ignorant of his bussines, of which I am in greatter pain now then before, fearing that his french friends, seeing him no more (at least not soe much) able to serue them as he was, abandon him, and leave him to himself, which is the only cause that maketh me stopp here the passing of his resignation of his priorie, which he should never quitte if he considered well, thuss you may tell him if he be not in his humeur. . . ."

The most important part of the history of Alexander Pendrick lies hidden between the lines of this letter; at the time he was probably about fifty years old and he lived until 1662. To my mind the fact that he resigned his Priory suggests that he must have come under the notice of some contemporary reformer. I can find no further reference to his career, either in the letters at Blairs or in the Archives at Propaganda.

Before discussing the identity and fragmentary history of David Chambers I will give a few details, collected from the

¹ Relatio de statu religionis in Regno Scotiæ . . . per PP. Joannem Brunonem et Joannem Franciscum Metellam (*Religiosi Ordinis Min. Missionis Scoticæ in dicto Regno*, 27 Jun. 1623). A Notarial copy in the *Arch. Cong. de Prop. Fide. Causæ*, p. 312, fol. 39-45.

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documents at Blairs, about his successors at the Scots College, Gilbert Blakhal and George Leith.

The name of Gilbert Blakhal is well known to students of Scottish History, but not known as it should be to readers of Hill Burton's *Scot Abroad*, where he is described as "eminent among the Jesuits."¹ This historian gives a reference to Blakhal's remarkable book, *A Brieffe Narration of Services done to Three Noble Ladies*, as if he had read it. A glance at the preface of the Spalding Club edition, to which he refers, would have shown him that Blakhal was a secular priest. So far was Blakhal from being "eminent among the Jesuits" that he regarded them as his personal enemies. From several references in the *Brieffe Narration* it is evident that he had not been on speaking terms with Father Christie when they were in Scotland at the same time, about the year 1637.

Not much is known about Blakhal beyond what can be discovered from his book. I cannot find among the Blairs papers any mention of the date of his appointment to the post of Principal at the Scots College. Father Richard Browne, S.J., writing from Clermont College to Rome on the 5th September, 1653, states that :—

"Monsieur Leith is master againe in the College heere, Monsieur Barclay prefect under him, and Monsieur Blackhall retired."

The meaning seems to be that Blakhal retired from the position of Principal.² The date of his death is given in the *Necrologium* of the Scots College, Paris, as 1st July, 1671. He had entered as a student at the Scots College, Rome, in 1626, so at his death he must have been about sixty-five years old.

The fact that Gilbert Blakhal had a brother named George, a Jesuit lay-brother in Spain, who was for some time at the Scots College, Madrid, has escaped the notice of historians. George Blakhal acted as procurator and general reformer of finances in various Jesuit houses throughout Spain. He was a good man of business, having been a merchant before joining the Order. Among the documents at Blairs College is a copy

¹ *The Scot Abroad*, Edinburgh, 1883 (3rd Edition), p. 350.

² There is a document in the Archives of Propaganda at Rome, dated 1653 (no month), signed jointly by Gilbert Blakhal and Robert Gall, representing the Scots College and Clermont College. Blakhal may have returned to Scotland. In 1662, a priest, named Blakhal, granted a dispensation "to James Graeme of Menorgan, a Catholic, to take meat in Lent" (L. G. Graeme, *Or and Sable*, a book about the Graemes, Edinburgh, 1903, p. 628).

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of a letter, the original of which is in the Scots College, Valladolid, written by Gilbert to his brother George, containing a summary of the adventures told in the *Brieffe Narration*. The copy is signed "William Blakhall," but the original was undoubtedly written by Gilbert. George Blakhal died at Madrid on the 14th March, 1656.

George Leith, a native of Aberdeenshire, went to the Scots College, Rome, in 1634, was there ordained, and left in 1641. He was afterwards Principal of the College in Paris, but not continuously, between the years 1641 and 1653. The correspondence of the Jesuit Fathers shows that during that time he was not on good terms with either Father Gall or Father Christie. Father Macbrek writes on the 17th August, 1657, that :—

"I euer indeuoriet to render to him all the best courtesy that layet in me, to gaine him to the Societe, others of ours heeretofore hauing giaue him summe dislaike."

Mr Leith had a brother Walter, who was at the Scots College, Rome, as a "convictor" or paying boarder, from 1653 to 1656. On 20th July, 1655, Father Anderson wrote from Douai to Rome :—

"Wee heer that on called Leithe president somtym in the Scots College of Paris hath a brother withe you who hathe a mynd to owr Society, is that trwe ?"

Father Macbrek in the same month gives an account of a conversation he had with George Leith in Paris about his brother's intentions :—

"Paris. 9. July 1655. I am glad that Walter Leith giue your R. contentment. His Brother Mr George the Aboiet tuo dayes ago did viset me heere, and was sourie he did refouse the otheth of the hous, as was raportet to him ; he did informe me more, that he hard he had ane intention to be of the Societe ; of the which, as he saed to me, (si credere fas est) he sould not be offendit but wel plaisaed, with all that he sould refounde heere to me what you sould ther imploy upon his entertainment ; but I feare much, that many of our nation hes many feare words and with all letil performaens. I belaiue that Mr Conne that is with the Cardinal Barbariny sends now and then word of all to Abot Laith ; Lat us euer be upon our garde and kaipe faire with all. . . ."

Of the further history of the two brothers little seems

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to have been left on record. George Leith left the Scots College either at the end of July or the beginning of August, 1655 :—

“Fr. J. Macbrek (Paris) to Fr. Adam Gordon (Rome)
7. August 1655.

“Monsieur Leith, before his going from Paris, camme to take his liue from me, and desayret me to wret to your R. if his brother walde retourne home (he supposais that he hes refusaet the hoeth, or that he wil not be ane Churchman) to assist him with 20 or 30 crouens, and he shal refonde as much heere to me. he spaikis no more of mitting him thether, as he did at the first. . . .”

The last mention of Abbot Leith which I have found in the documents at Blairs is dated 18th November, 1661, in which year he is spoken of as living in some country district in France with a brother named Arthur.

During the first half of the seventeenth century several Catholic Scotsmen belonging to the family of Chambers had taken refuge on the Continent. The most famous of these was David Chambers,¹ Principal of the Scots College, Paris, in 1637, and probably earlier, who died, still holding that post, in 1641. He comes more prominently into Scottish history now that he can be identified with David Camerarius,² author of *De Scotorum Fortitudine* (Paris, 1631) and *De Statu Hominis Veteris*, etc. (Chalons, 1627). The fact that, in many of the letters now at Blairs, Chambers is addressed as Camerarius would not of itself be conclusive, but it is supported by other evidence. The obituary in Strachan's *Album Amicorum* consists of twenty-one epitaphs in the autograph of Thomas Chalmers. No. 7 is as follows :—

“David Chalmers Historian, author of *De Scotorum Fortitudine*, Paris 1631, died there 18th Jan. 1641.”

The *Necrologium* of the Scots College, Paris, states that David Chalmers, “Presbyter Primarius quondam et Benefactor,” died on 17th January, 1641. The *Necrologium* is often

¹ A son of Patrick Chambers of Fintray (Kellas-Johnstone, *Bibliographica Aberdonensis*, 1472-1640. Third Spalding Club, 1929).

² “David Camerarius, whoever he was,” writes a recent historian, “was certainly an alumnus of King's College (Aberdeen); and he has given the earliest account of the discipline of the University in its youthful days” (P. J. Anderson, in *Studies in the History and Development of the University of Aberdeen*, Aberdeen, 1906, p. 115). The description of the University routine is in the *De Scotorum Fortitudine*, liber secundus, Cap. 4, “de Scotiæ Academiis seu Universitatibus.”

DAVIDIS
CAMERARII
SCOTI.

Temp. Regij Scotiarum & Angliæ
DE SCOTORVM FORTITVDINE

Doctrina, & Pietate, ac de ortu & progrediu heretici
in Regnis Scotiæ & Angliæ.

LIBRI QVATVOR.

NVNC TRIMVM IN LVCVM EDITI

*manis
done*



*Gordon ex
antiquis.*

PARISIIS.

Sumptibus PETRI PAILLET, via
sub Gallo & Leone repente.

M. DC. XXXI.

CVM PRIVILEGIO REGIO.

in Libraria Collegii & in Libraria

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inaccurate, and the mistake of a day might be due to the scribe who made the entry or copied it from some older volume. The Principal and the historian must be the same man. This identification is confirmed by an inscription: "Hujus Collegii Scotorum Primarii," written under the name of the author on the title-page of a copy of *De Scotorum Fortitudine*, which is now at Blairs College, and formerly belonged to the Scots College, Paris.

The history of David Chambers can now be outlined. He had been a student at Aberdeen University, probably some time during the first decade of the seventeenth century. He was therefore a convert. He must have lived for several years in France before 1627 when he published his first book, *De Statu Hominis Veteris*, at Chalons. He enjoyed the patronage and financial assistance of Cardinal Barbarini, nephew to Pope Urban VIII, whom he describes in the dedication of the third part of this book as "Maecenatem suum." He may have been a friend of Thomas Dempster (died 1625), from whose *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum* he borrowed extensively. Chambers was in Rome in 1630,¹ and went to Scotland the following year; he sent a report to Propaganda in 1633, describing the state of the mission, and asking for the appointment of a Bishop.² On his return to France shortly after, he was presented, perhaps by Cardinal Richelieu, with a French benefice; in several of the letters now at Blairs he is addressed as Prieur de Sahien. As Principal of the Scots College at Paris, he was acquainted with most of the Scottish exiles, and there are at Blairs a number of letters addressed to him, which, although they are in the same bundle, do not belong to the same series as those I have hitherto been dealing with. These letters, a remnant of the archives of the Paris College, which met with such unfortunate adventures during the French Revolution, must be those mentioned by Mr Farquharson as having been returned to the College along with some rare books.³ Some of them bear the signatures of men belonging to Scottish families once well known, but now almost entirely

¹ The Rev. Mr Chambers, a Scottish priest, was entertained in the refectory of the English College at Rome on 31st July, 1630 (*The Pilgrim Book of the English College*: Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, Vol. VI, p. 606).

² Archives of The Congregation of Propaganda, *Lettere Antiche*, Vol. 391, fol. 136.

³ *Vide supra*, p. 9.

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forgotten, and they give a glimpse of the state of affairs abroad during the days when Charles I in England and Louis XIII in France were still powerful. I have selected from this correspondence of David Chambers a few letters which deal, in an interesting manner, with the events of contemporary history. One of his correspondents, Robert Pendrick, a brother of Alexander, who had been Principal of the Paris College, was a layman attached to the household of Sir William Hamilton,¹ the Resident in Rome who represented Henrietta Maria, Dowager Queen of England. In 1640 he was tutor to Robert Villiers, a nephew of the Duke of Buckingham (they both dined at the English College on 20th November of that year), and afterwards to the sons of Sir Kenelm Digby, who succeeded to the post of Resident between 1640 and 1645.²

“ Robert Pendrick (Rome) to Monsieur Chalmers (Paris)
28. Sept. 1638.

“ MOST WORTHIE SIR,

“ Yours of the 20 of August I receaved some dayes agoe, hoping to haue heard again of your best Newes before this time, but it seemeth the currier hath fallen into the Spaniards hands, or some worsse danger . . . the uictorie which the french had lately of the Spanish gallies here in thir seas hath mortified mightely los hermanos, and makes them go at this court wt one of their mustatches hinging doune, yet their pride is such, that they look still high. Of Mr Spreull³ we haue yet no newes of his intention I knew before, for an Irish Jesuit his converter is here rector of the Irish Colledge, if he hath the mynd to be one, the soonner the better ; Wee expect also here shortlie Doctor Holden⁴ and Mr Fosquea.

¹ Created a Baron of Nova Scotia in 1627 (*Scots Peerage*, Vol. I, p. 47). He was appointed Queen Henrietta's Agent at Rome in 1636 (*Court and Times of Charles the First*, London, 1848, Vol. II, p. 244).

² Foley, *Records*, Vol. VI, pp. 620, 627, 628.

³ The name of Francis Spreul occurs frequently in the Blairs letters. Abbé Macpherson says that he was from Galloway, entered the Scots College, Rome, in 1639, leaving it the same year to become a Jesuit. He had been “ a parson among the Presbyterians, and reckoned by his brethren a man of much learning . . . he was placed by the Synod of Galloway to live at free quarters in the house of Lord Nithsdale, in hopes he would gain over that noble family, which was Catholic, to his own persuasion. The Jesuit Father, John Wilkie, who was chaplain to his Lordship, had many disputes in matter of religion with Spreul, and at last received him into the Church.”

⁴ “ Amongst the English divines established in foreign countries none attained greater celebrity than Doctor Henry Holden. He was born in Lanca-

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... I pray you remember me to Mr Bruce and shew him that I could not haue time to writ to him beeing taken up wt the loking upon the french and Spaniards here, the one going mad for greef, the other out of their witts for ioy at the newes of the Queen of France deliuerie of an dolphin.¹ Remember me to my brother soe kissing your hands I rest

“your most humble oblidged seruant

“R. PENDRIC.

“Mr Strachens course he hath taken greeues me from which I had noe scruple to recal him, but could not preuail.”

Letter from Sir William Hamilton addressed :—

“Al Mto. Illmo. e Mto. Rdo. Sigre mio Illmo. Il Sigr. Dauid Camerario. Parigi. raccomandata all Illmo. Sigr. Nuntio.

“This week past there was great allegrezza made here for your Dolphin, to which Cardinal Antonio did contribute no small part, the particulars your Gazets there will not conceale ; neither of the Spaniards late plot which they, wt the Cardinal of Sauoy intended against Madame and her sonne the young Duke ; which hath mad a great sturre in those parts, which still continues. Our german Ambassadeur is making all the haist he can to be gonne from hence before Christmes. Wee expect daylie to hear either of the deliuerie or taking of Brisach.² the Venetians are still in feare of the Turk and making themselues reddey to warre against him, uther newes

shire, of respectable parents, in the year 1596 ; studied at Douai ; removed to Paris ; and was admitted at the Sorbonne to the Degree of Doctor of Divinity. He died about the year 1665. His work, *Divinæ Fidei Analysis*, . . . acquired him great reputation” (Chas. Butler, *Historical Memoirs respecting the English, Irish, and Scottish Catholics*, Vol. II, p. 305, London, 1819).

¹ The following passage occurs in a letter written by James Howell to Dr Usher, Lord Primate of Ireland. *Epistolæ Howelianæ : Familiar Letters by James Howell*, p. 275, London, 1737, 10th Edition : “They write to me from England of rare news from France, which is, that the Queen is delivered of a Dauphin, the wonderfulest thing of this kind that any Story can parallel ; for this is the three-and-twentieth year since she was married, and hath continued childless all this while,” Dublin, March 1639.

² Breisach. On 17th December the fortress surrendered to Bernhard of Weimar. The siege, which had lasted from 15th August, “forms one of the most memorable events” of the Thirty Years War (*Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IV, p. 377).

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we haue not at the present to send you, but that all friends here are well ; soe till new occasion I rest

“ your most affectionat friend to serue you

“ Rome. Nov. 2. 1638.

S. WIL. HAMILTON.

“ Please you causs delyuer this inclosed safely, which comes from Sir Alexander Seton, who I hope be this time is in Spain.”

Letter from Robert Pendrick, 21st July, 1640 :—

“ A Monsieur Monsr. Chalmers Superieur du College des Escossois, rue des Amandiers a L’image de nostre Dame A Paris.

“ MOST WORTHY SR.

“ I had yours of the 8 of June whereby you send mee a new address for my letters, to Monsieur Massac, which I shall doe for this time untill I haue your answer to mine I sent you by the Palace in the Nunces paquet, becauss the Secretarie here my friend hath promised to haue a care hereafter of my letters I send you, and if once wee can hitt right on that way agane it will doe well, becauss the charges of letters are too excessiue. . . .”

The rest of the letter consists of a discussion about money matters concerned with “ Mr Thomas.” There is a sentence which seems to mean that Sir William Hamilton had left Rome, and Sir Kenelm Digby was coming to take his place :—

“ Wee heare that all things are quieted in England and that the king is resolved to send great forces against the Couenanters. Sr Wm. will come in puding terme as wee say to goe into Scotland wt his cheef the Marquis.¹ Sr Kellam wrytes that he will sett furth shortlie for his coming, he will be in time before any thing be done in the businesse you know of. against the time I heare from you, that you haue receaued thoss monyes I sent you lately, I shall haue the rest in readines for you, becauss the money may fall in france and consequentlie you loose if they stay here ; neither am I out of danger, becauss what I haue I can not keep it by me, but putte it in the banke, and this yeare wee haue three that are become falliti, soe till new occasion I rest

“ your most humble oblidged seruant

“ Rome 21 of July 1640.

R. PENDRIC.²

¹ James, Marquis of Hamilton.

² “ Mr Pitendrich ane old Scots man ” was still living in Rome in 1673. (Letter from Fr. Athanasius Chalmers to M. Gordon Colonel de Cavallerie . . . 27 Dec. 1673.)

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“Commend me to my brother.¹ I am still a wryting but neuer wrytes.”

Among the letters addressed to Monsieur David Chambers at the Scots College, Paris, there are several from two exiled Scots, William Chisholm of Cromlie, and James Gray, Laird of Schivas, who were both living at Vaison, near Avignon, where a Scottish colony had assembled after the transfer of Bishop William Chisholm, of Dunblane, to that See in 1570. (This Bishop resigned in favour of his nephew, William Chisholm, who is said to have died at Vaison in 1629.)²

The following facts concerning William Chisholm of Cromlie and his son are taken from Pithen Curt's *Histoire de la Noblesse du Comtat-Venaissin*, etc., Vol. I, p. 334, 1743 (quoted by Michel, *Les Écossais en France*):—

“Guillaume de Chisholme, Baron de Crombis, Chevalier de L'Ordre de la Jarretière et Capitaine des Suisses de la Garde du Pape au Comtat-Venaissin, had been in France since the age of 12, married in 1606 . . . and had two sons and a daughter; his eldest son Guillaume de Chisholme, baron de Crombis exempt of the company of the Scots Men at Arms was put in charge of the unfortunate de Thov from the time of his arrest to the moment he mounted the scaffold. He lived sometimes at Carpentras, sometimes at Vaison etc. etc. . . .”

Little is known about these exiled Scots in seventeenth-century France. Of the Scots Guard I have not been able to find elsewhere anything in the nature of personal history such as is given, all too briefly, in these letters. Forbes Leith, who collected a list of names and constructed out of scanty material an imperfect outline of the history of this famous regiment,³ states that William Chisholm was an exempt of the Scots Guard, and that M. de Gordis was his captain. The correspondence of Chisholm (senior) shows that the young officer has been getting into debt, and had borrowed money from Mr Chambers.

The first letter, dated 26th May, 1637, is from Vaison; the

¹ Alexander.

² The Chisholms of Cromlie, in Perthshire, were Catholics and Loyalists. A John Chisholm was with Montrose in 1645.

³ *Scots Men at Arms*, Edinburgh, 1882.

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writing is good, but the ink faded and the text not always easy to read :—

“ RT HONORABIL

“ My soon aryued heir onexpected by me thir days bypast wt equipage uiche ues naither honorabil for him nor acceptable to me, being uthout clothis and altogether destituat of moneys qrof I doe maruel, hauing boroued frome youe noue laitlie 1500 liures. . . . I haue euer bein since his cuming, going and cuming to Auignon for to find sum assurance to put his person in assurance and out of euident peril qrin he is continualie, being onder the fauour of the Justice, and subject to encour danger of the malicious nation of Italiens.”

He explains that his son had come to Avignon, “on the Kings affairs,” although under sentence of banishment from that district in consequence of some part he had taken in a duel, years before. He asks Mr Chambers to get a letter from the King :—

“ This letter is yit expedient to be sent in diliegence, procured by Monsr. de Gordes or Seton conteining thir points that he hauing serued only as second in that action and hauing killed non or hurt. . . .”

In September he wrote a long letter to explain why the money lent by M. Chambers had not yet been repaid. Young Chisholm was still in need of funds :—

“ Now he is retourned to serue his quarter,¹ and I haue haid as muche adoe as to find present moneys and credit for to furnishe to his uoyage, and to put him in ane new equipage ; seeing he returned heir hauing need of al things . . . and hauing giuin him bot fyu monthis befor 200 frs. and tuo horsis and shortlie after to see him retourne uthout moneys, clothis or horsis. I lat youe think if I haid not reason not to be varie content. . . . The Laird of Schiuvis is stil seik of ane aige, since the begining of Agust. We haue heir Monseigneur Sforce for V. Legat, quha leiueth nobilie and . . . then any other we haue sein in that place. he hes on of my soon for

¹ In a letter from Vaison, dated the 29th June, 1637, the Laird of Schivas says that “ the exempt receaued sume dayes since a letter frome M. de Gordis aduertising him to find himself att the rende-uous in Picardie the first of July.” “ Gordes or Seton ” may be the same as a certain Monsieur Ceton, who is often mentioned by Richelieu in his letters at this date as a trusted Scot belonging to the King’s own personal service.

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page and three otheris of guid qualite. it is thocht he shal goe towards the court of France for Nunce. My soon uil shaw you at greater lenthe al occurences heir and I remaine constantlie uithout any exception

“your most oblished seruiteur

“WM CHEISOLME OF CROMLIX.

“from Rochemauve besyd Auignon. the 14 of Septem. 1637.”

On 6th November, 1637, Chisholm wrote again, complaining about his boy's extravagance :—

“. . . he knowis uarie ueil as also the great chargis he hes bein to me uiche I protest to God uil extend to sex thousand frankis ane soume uiche is notabil to haue deboursit be ane pour gentleman as I quha hes yit three cheildrein to entertein daylie and to see to loge them seing they ar al cumed to years and age of men. . . .”

From the tone of the last letter of the series, dated 12th July, 1638, it does not look as if there was much prospect of M. Chambers ever getting his money back. Chisholm offers to pay the interest regularly :—

“I expect that fauour of your courtesie and request you to mak no sinistrous iugement of my treue and deuitful affaction uiche I doe carie to your uerthe uiche maks me to remain to my last breathe your seruaut uithout exception

“WM CHEISOLME OF CROMLIX.

“Frome Vaison

“the 12th of July 1638.”

There are three interesting letters written by the Laird of Schivas to “Monsieur Chalmeres, Prieur de Sahun demeurant au Collège des Escossois, près le mont St Estien, rue des Aman-driers a Paris.” From the handwriting, the style, and the contents of these letters it looks as if the Laird was some kind of a lawyer, and that he acted as agent for M. Chambers and perhaps other Scots abroad. The family history of the Grays of Schivas is difficult to unravel.¹ The family, now extinct, was one of the few in Aberdeenshire which always remained faithful to the old Church. The House of Schivas, in Buchan,

¹ *New Statistical Record* (XII, p. 669, ed. 1845) says that the Grays were descended from “a younger branch of the noble family of Kinfauns.” J. M. Bulloch, in *The House of Gordon*, states that the lands of Newton of Schivas were bought by Alexander Gray, Burgess of Aberdeen, in 1512.

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twenty miles from Aberdeen, was built in the middle of the sixteenth century, and is mentioned in 1637 by Blakhal as one of the chief Catholic houses in Aberdeenshire.¹ At this period the Laird had already been abroad for many years, to avoid confiscation of his property; his son Thomas was probably living at the House of Schivas.

Although the letters of the Laird of Schivas are for the most part concerned with French affairs, they contain many references to contemporary Scottish history. The second of the series, dated 27th February, 1638, refers to some religious quarrel in France which I have not been able to identify:—

“SR.

“After the recept of yours of the 11 of December wt ane uther immediatlie after accompanying those frome my sone, I wreat to you in the beginning of Januar and in the same pacquett wt myn was ane frome Sr Wm Cheisholme qa is now in Aix for your affaire as he assuris me, ane uther frome our bischop his brother and grypt Vicair for that affaire concerning the insolencie of sume huguenots qa I recommendit to you befor, bot now ye neid nott paine yourself nor his brother Virabelle for that matter is endit be ane arrest of the Court of Grenoble mair fauorable for the huguenots nor wee expected, yitt they ar condemned in the expensis and sume lytle amande to the Kirk qr they committed the insolence. Thair war in the same pacquett letters of myn for Scotland directed to Maister Thomas Gray in Aberdeine, I fear all be lost for I think if ye had receaued Mr Suarez letter ye wald haue ansuered him. . . . I pray you putt me out of doubt wt the first ordinar, that if my letters for Scotland be lost I may renew them. It is long since wee haue the hopes heir of Sig. Giorgio his aduancement butt I culd wryt nothing, butt nou since our bischop confirms the same since is cuming frome Rome and our Vicelegat thinks itt assured I culd nott bott giue you part of my contentment, praying you nottheles to keip all to yourself till wee may wt certaintie publishe our Joyis.

“If ye haue any certaintie of my Lord Grayis² cuming or his affaires concerning his dauchters mariage, or setling his estate itt may please you aduertise me. . . .

“Quhen Mr de Cromlis comes frome Aix he salbe sollicitated as ye war heir yourself. I thank you for the newis of our

¹ *Narration*, pp. 61, 62, 68.

² Probably Sir William Gray, of Pittendrum (*Scots Peerage*, IV, p. 288).

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countrey and prayis you to contineu, I am still purposit to mak the uoyage for Scotland thinking itt requisit both for my health and affaires, bott hes arrestitt no precise tyme, yitt itt may please you to aduertise me how men ar usit in thair passage to Ingland concerning the othe. So luiking for your newis qlke I haue expected thir tua moneths I rest euer your affectionat freind and seruitur

“GRAY OF SCHEUESS

“Vaison the penult of Februar 1638.

“Itt may please you remember my seruice to M. Annand and Mr Petindrick.”

Signor Giorgio mentioned in this letter is George Con, “one of the most learned of the Scotch secular clergy in the seventeenth century.”¹ He was appointed Secretary of the Congregation of Rites and Domestic Prelate to Pope Urban VIII. It seems to have been intended, says Hunter Blair, “had not his death come in the way, to bestow upon Cone a Cardinal’s hat.”² This is no doubt the “aduancement” to which the Laird of Schivas refers:—

“Letter from Gray of Schivas to Monsieur Chalmers
16 Oct. 1638.

“SIR,

“I receaued yours of the 24 of September the 4 of this instant together wt ane inclositt to Sr Wm Cheisholme qa was ther in Auignon and frome that he went to Aix. att his returne I delyuered him your lettre and insisted wt him concerning your affaire, he ansuered me that he had neuer taine sa gryt pains for any thing in his lyff and yitt be malheur culd come to end of itt. The counseiler Arnaux was nott in Aix be reasone the king had suspendit both him and ane uther conseilier of the exercise of thair charges for sume oppositione they had made to the erectione of new offices in thair parliament, he raid to Roussett qr they said the counseiler was ten ligues frome Aix and stayed tuo days bot fand him nott, frome that he went to Marseils qr they made him beliuie he was gone and yitt was frustrat, sa he was forcit to come to Aix and speak wt Mr Arnaus wyff qa promised how soone hir husband came to send him his ansuer qlk wee expect yitt, this is all I can wryt for the present of your affaire and am sorie I can nott serue you better in that affaire as I suld

¹ *Bellesheim*, Vol. IV, p. 52.

² *Ibid.*, p. 53, n.

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be ueray willing as in all uthers, I think since his uoyage of Prouance ye haue receaued his awin lettre from Auignon. I spak to Mr de Veirie qa had beine sumtyme seik and then went to Auignon and wreat to you from thence. Itt may be ye haue hard orr now of the death of the young duk of Sauoy, he was breiding the small poks wt sume feuer, the medecins mistaking his disease drew blood and so kild him, the uther brother qa rests onlie of Masles is seik, bot wt him I think they sall go moir circumspectlie, his loss (qlk God saue) wald bring gryt changement in that estate. Our bischop thanks yow hartly for the caire ye haue to recouer him Massonius¹ bot wee knaw nott qm to itt may be addrest now. . . .

"My affaires in Scotland obligit me to mak the uoyage bot seing the estate of the countrey I haue contented myself for this tyme to wryt to my sone, hoping that ye may find the occasions to send this to Mr Thomas Gray be some of our Abds marchants that comes ouer wt thair salmon to diep, and if they bring any lettre for me I suppose it sall come to your hands, and so to myn assuredlie. Itt may please you remember my seruice to our cousin Mr Thomas Chalmers to Mr Annand and to Mr Bruce if ye wryt to him. I am infinitlie glaid of the guid newis ye giue me of the Marquis of Douglas,² itt appeirs he is noways degenerat and is resolued to mantein himself in the place and reputatone his predicessours hes euer had in our countrey.

"I wald be glaid to knaw if thair be any uthers of the nobilitie that ar for the king and qa they, and cheiflie (for the interest of our north) qt is the Marquis of Huntly his part, for if he espauld Abd. itt will be a gryt weill for that countrey. If I go nott to Scotland I hope to cume and liue wt you some moneths, but that can nott be till the nixt spring.

"As I was att this part of this lattre I receaued yours of the first of this instant sent to me be the bischop qlk one of his men brocht frome Auignon. Itt hes contented me michtilie for I hope our couenanters furie is beginning to coole, and they schew ouer plainlie thair waiknes of sprit als weil as of uther forces as to be moued be the report of Abernethie, bot itt may be they haue a regard to that maxime

¹ Jean Papire Masson (1544-1611), "historien qui a joui d'une assez grande réputation," *Biogr. Univ.* Paris, 1820, I, 27, p. 421.

² "The Marquis of Douglas and the Earl of Nithsdale have been ordered either to take the solemn oath and Covenant or quit the country at once." (Th. Rob., S.J., letter to Father General from London, 30th November 1639. Forbes Leith, *Memoirs*, I, p. 196.)

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that things ar best manteined be the same meanes they warr first bred, that is thair religione be renegat priests. No honest man had a good opinion of that man for quhill I was last in the countrey he frequented most heretiques went to heretiq prechings and liued wt scandal. . . .

“Your affectionat freind and seruitur

“GRAY.

“Ye see I spare you not for the port of my lettres sa ye haue no subiect to spair me in the lyke occasione.

“Vaison the 16 of October 1638.”

From a note on page 45 of the Spalding Club Edition of Gordon's *History of Scots Affairs*, it appears that the editor had seen this letter from Gray with the reference to the apostate Abernethy. Thomas Abernethy entered and left the Scots College, Rome, in 1624. Oliver (*Collections*) says that he was at Douai in August 1633, but the *Annual Letter* of the Jesuit Fathers for 1632 mentions his arrival in Scotland in September of that year. Gordon (*Scots Affairs*) says that “begetting a mayde with chyld he was deposed by his Superiors and deserted them.” He told a number of ridiculous stories about the Jesuits, but at the same time betrayed them and many other of his former fellow-Catholics. His pamphlet, entitled *Abjuration of Popery*, was printed in 1638.¹

Abernethy was at first hailed by the Presbyterians as a brand from the burning, but Bishop Burnet wrote that “his story had a ready belief, as well as a welcome hearing; though the lightness and weakness of the man became afterwards so visible that small account was made of him or his story, which at this time took wonderfully.”² He is last heard of as a soldier. Baillie reports that the attack of the Covenanters at the Bridge of Dee, in 1639, “was a desperate peice of service; none more stout, and full of good directions at it, than Jesuit Abernethie. . . .”³

There are a few other short letters written by the Laird of Schivas at a much later date, but they contain nothing of any interest. In 1653 he was still at Vaison; his writing is shaky and irregular; he complains of illness and bad sight.

¹ Sir Robert Gordon, of Gordonstoun, *A Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland* (from 1630-51), p. 495, Edinburgh, 1813; Spalding, *Troubles*, I, p. 201; J. F. Kellas Johnstone, *Bib. Aberdoniensis*, Vol. I, p. 281.

² Gilbert Burnet, *Memoirs of the Hamiltons*, Vol. II, p. 83, London, 1677.

³ *Letters and Journals*, Vol. I, p. 222.

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He wrote on 1st September, 1653, to Father Gordon, Rector of the Scots College, Rome, that his wife Margaret Wod had recently died, and requests prayers for her soul. A letter, dated 25th April, 1665, signed J. Gray and Robert Gray, to Father Talbot at Rome, refers to the old Laird :—

“My goodsyr . . . for the presant not being able nether to reid nor wreit, by his commandment I wreit thes lynes to your Reueranc. . . .”

The date of his death, as well as the rest of his history, remains unknown.

Principal David Chambers had two cousins in France, Mr George Chambers, Dean and Professor of Lawes at Pont-à-Mousson, and Mr Thomas Chambers, a Secular priest in Paris. George Chambers took his degree in Law at the University of Angers, and he was appointed Professor at Pont-à-Mousson on 26th March, 1636. Copies of his Brevet of Appointment, and his acceptance, are preserved in the Diary of the University.¹

There are four letters in the Blairs Collection written by George Chambers from Pont-à-Mousson, dated 18th and 26th January and 3rd and 8th March, 1637. They are addressed to “Mons des Chambres, au College des Escossois, rue des Amendiers pres St Genonefie a Paris.” The script is difficult to read, and the paper in some cases badly torn. The writer refers to “our cousin Mr Thomas,” who “continues still in hope to become greit; for myself I desyr to flie no higher, yet sall estyme myself happy to keip well that which I have already catched.” He lived in a house belonging to the Jesuits, “hard by my great uncle his house.” His letters are about personal matters and his own bad health. He died soon after on 11th April, 1637.²

“Our cousin Mr Thomas” is the “Thomas Chalmers”, junior, of the Diocese of Aberdeen, who went to the Scots College, Rome, in 1630, was there ordained, and left in 1637.³ Paul Macpherson says that “he continued for some time on the mission, from whence he went to France, was made almoner, first to Cardinal Richelieu and afterwards to Cardinal

¹ *Diarium Universitatis Mussipontanæ* (1572-1764). Ed. G. Gavet, Paris, 1911, Col. 224. This Jesuit University had many links with Scotland; the first Rector was Father Edmund Hay.

² Strachan, *Album Amicorum*.

³ *Rome Register*.

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Mazarin.”¹ He is the “Chambers” mentioned by Hyde, in a letter published in the *Clarendon State Papers* (Vol. II, p. 149), as having died in 1651.

Thomas Chambers was a great friend of Mr George Leith, Principal of the Scots College, Paris, and for this, in addition to more cogent reasons, was not regarded with a friendly eye by the Scottish Jesuits at Clermont College. The first sign of friction between this establishment and the Scots College occurs in a letter written by Father Christie to an ex-Rector of the College at Rome on 14th September, 1649. The wording of this letter is somewhat cryptic, and would be easier to follow if the previous letter, on the same subject, could be found. Unfortunately it is not among the documents at Blairs:—

“Fr. W. Christie (Paris) to Fr. Francis Dempster (Rome)
14. Sept. 1649.

“I hope my former sent be comed to yr handes, also my last of the 28 of August to be communicat betwix yr R and F. Androu of which yr successoures may mak use, if pace or contentment be hade their uho command. The correspondence betwix any their with him or his uho hath or should at least haue care of this disordered Scotish hous, uho as he did their at Rome manifest his splene, soe nou as is knouen and recorded be many, doe declare it at al occasion against our coll., or those uho loue it. Good Mr Chambres doe second him, neither doe I understand or cause giuen except the educating of 2 poor boyes, and promoueing of them to that estate, which some nou regrat. As to myselue I neuer uronged any of them bot hath done good offices to theires, bot our praiers and loue of God must — — — [blot]. Particulares I remit to this bearer Mr Hay uho in al confidence and secrecy uil declare al to yr R., F. Androu or any other sure, pouerful frind you pleas, if he be required, as I desire you doe, to the end yr R. and uho succed may knou hou materes goe, or uho be real frindes, yea seing God is offendet, to the greate scandal of many, and discredite to our nation it is necessar al meanes be used to remead. . . .”

Father Christie writes as if he had some special reason for disliking “good Mr Chambres”; a characteristic passage

¹ MS. Catalogue. He was a nephew of George Con, who had been Papal Envoy at the Court of Charles I; his mother, Christina Con, died at Aberdeen in 1639 (*Album Amicorum*).

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occurs in a letter of the same date as above, 14th September, 1649, addressed to Father Andrew Leslie, the new Rector :—

“ Wee haue neade to gain frindes, for wee haue many not ueale affectionat, cheefly those uhome our Society and we haue most obliged, as Abbot Chambres and George Leith with their adhairents doe shou at al occasion be signes of ingratitude and detraction to palliat their oune imperfectiones and abuse of this Scottish house not uithout the offence of God, hindrance of the commune good, and discredite to Catholiques and our nation. Mr Hay can informe you particulars, yet in secrecy as I urit this. . . .”

In a postscript to this letter he protests against the intention of Abbot Chambers to have his arms put up behind the altar in the Church of St Andrew at the Scots College, Rome :—

“ As to your Patrones Church I uil recommend no more nor I did in my former seing as you insinuat it doe please, and I am assured of F. Vicar General his good uil, uho uil assist to perfite and open it this holy yeare, which those monyes left be Docteur Wedderburn¹ uil doe, as I urite before. Let the V. General his opinion be followed. As to the high altar Mr Chambres uith his 100 crounes, (uith some old bookes),² pairtly light gold, pairtly counterfait, uould haue us to build it, and he to put his noble armes, bot I must be first payed of my debursements which I uish some other uould doe, and perfite it, rendring bak his, or apply it to a side altar. It is smal credite to haue such a one his armes their, as diuers doe say, and confirm his smal affection he and Mr Leith uith al theires hath to us. as to myselue I neuer uronged them,

¹ Dr John Wedderburn, born 1583, elder brother of the Scottish Episcopalian Bishop, James Wedderburn, entered the Scots College, Rome, at its foundation in 1603; matriculated at Padua 1609-10, and taught mathematics in that University. He died in Moravia about 1650, leaving a sum of money to the Scots College, Rome. (Letter from Captain A. Leslie (at Brünn) to Fr. Andrew Leslie (Rome), 18th September, 1651; Blairs MSS.).

² Mr Chambers might be credited with having helped to found the library of the College in Rome, which at one time must have been of considerable importance. It was broken up by an Italian Rector, Ignatius Ceci, about the year 1779, “who made free with many valuable articles which should never have been sold. Among these were all the English books in the library, as likewise books written in Greek and other languages, which, because he could not understand them himself, he imagined could be of no use” (Paul Macpherson, *MS. History of the Scots College, Rome*).

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yea haue done good offices to theirs bot I offer that to God, and shal pray for them. This is to yourselue. . . .”

That the 100 crowns for the altar were accepted, is clear from Father Christie’s letters, and Paul Macpherson is wrong in saying that the money was “refused with scorn.”¹ Whether it was applied in accordance with the benefactor’s wishes, I do not know ; it was not so applied if Father Christie had his way :—

“Of S. Androues altar I urite no more, only I be payed befor any man put up their armes. I uish that Mr Chambres uare applied to a litle altar, seing he can not defray the charges.” (Letter to Fr. Dempster, 14th Sept. 1649.)

The Church of St Andrew had been built in 1646 by Father Christie, with alms presented by various benefactors, the chief of whom was his old friend the Marchioness of Huntly. The altar was not yet finished in 1655, by which time Abbot Chambers was dead, and forgiven :—

“Fr. Christie (Douay) to Fr. Talbot (Rome) 9th Feb. 1655.

“Remember my best respects to F. Oliua and render him thanks in my name for his almes to our S. Andrea, which I doubt not bot you uil put in uork perfecting al which I beleue had been long agoe, let him be amongst the rest of the benefactores, F. Thomson and Abbot Chalmers with others liuing and departed are to be remembered. . . .”

“Fr. W. Christie (Douay) to Fr. Adam Gordon (Rome)
10 Nov. 1654.

“Of good Fr. Thomson I haue been mindful, and made others doe the like, also the English freeres, who did much for them. I entreate you recommend him particularly to your domestiques as benefactor to yr St Andr. Church, as also al others benefactores of it. I beseeche you, not omitting Abbe de Chamber.”

Paul Macpherson attributed to jealousy the dislike to Abbot Leith and Abbot Chambers expressed by Father Christie and some of his colleagues in the private correspondence with the College at Rome. It did not occur to him that there might be another explanation. In the particular case of Father Christie and Abbot Chambers the friction was due to something more than jealousy. There

¹ *Abbé Macpherson’s MS. Cat.*, and *Scotichronicon*, p. 534.

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are certain facts about the life of Thomas Chambers, unknown perhaps to many of his contemporaries, which justify stronger language than any used by his ecclesiastical rivals.

Macpherson states that Thomas Chambers, after leaving the Scots College, Rome, in 1637, "continued for some time on the mission." This assertion is a piece of hagiography; this is what the hero ought to have done. It is true he went to Scotland in 1637, but he stayed there only a very short time, and the character of his "mission" can be discovered from a letter written by Richelieu in December, 1637. The Cardinal was using his almoner as agent to provoke the Scottish Presbyterian party against Charles I, and had sent him to Scotland for that purpose:—

"Cardinal Richelieu to Comte d'Estrades at London.
2. Dec. 1637.

"I will make use of the information you have given me about Scotland, and will send Abbé Chambre my Almoner, who is of Scottish nationality, to wait at Edinburgh for the two persons you have named [un ministre d'Écosse nommé Mobil,¹ et un Seigneur nommé Gourdon] to transact some business with them. The year will not have passed before the King and Queen of England will be sorry for having refused the offers you have made them on behalf of the King [of France]. . . . People will soon learn that I am not to be scorned. If your two friends from Scotland are still in London, tell them that they can have confidence in what Abbé Chambre will say to them, and give them a letter to hand, as coming from you, to the said Abbé, so that he may recognise them. . . ."

D'Estrades wrote in January, 1641, to the Cardinal, stating that the Prince of Orange was aware "that your Eminence had sent a Scottish Abbé to Edinburgh, who was an able man, and who had completely ruined the party of the English King in Scotland."² Richelieu concealed his real plans from the British Government by instructing his almoner to proceed to Scotland for the purpose of enlisting recruits in that country for service in Scottish regiments in France. These instructions were quite genuine, but they were made to serve as a screen

¹ Mentioned in a previous letter from the Cardinal. I cannot trace the Scottish minister, whose name, in the Avenel Edition of the *Letters of Cardinal Richelieu*, is spelt "Mobil."

² *Lettres de M. le Comte d'Estrades*, Vol. I, pp. 10, 60, London, 1743.

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for his relations with the Covenanters.¹ Chambers was well paid for his work. Blakhal says that Cardinal Richelieu "bestowed upon him two priories worth five thousand livres of rent."² The livre was worth, in 1637, not quite one shilling and sixpence, so that 5000 livres would be equivalent to about £360. To a man who aspired "to become greit," this sum would be more useful than the 100 Italian crowns, worth about £30, paid annually by the Congregation of Propaganda, a few years later, to missionary priests in Scotland.

In the summer of 1638 Thomas Chambers was at Amiens, in attendance on the Cardinal, whence he wrote a letter to his cousin David at the Scots College, Paris. He says that he may have to return again to Scotland, and is clearly unwilling to do so. If he had been caught in England, such evidence as that contained in the Cardinal's letter would have been sufficient to justify a firing party:—

Thomas Chambers to Monsieur David Chambers, Scots College, Paris.

"RND AND LOUING COUSIN

"I know you long to heare from me & yit I can giue you no newes neather of our armies (except such as ar general) nor of the Colonell & his regiment,³ only I heare of euerie on that he is weill & that his regiment hes done meruiely, the particulars wherof als soone as I can learne you shall know. This day Marshall de Breze⁴ arryued hither whoes armie is eight leauges from hence, the other two Marshalls hes inuested a place 2 or 3 leauges from St Omers situatted in plain (the name whereof doeth not occurre to my memorie) with designe as it is thought to drawe the enemy to giue battell whoe being wodged in the marrasses about St Omers can not be aborded. it is uncertaine as yit whither the Court doeth goe further, only yesterday my Prince said to the deputies of Abbeuill that the king would draw neerer to them which maks me suspect that he is eather to goe thither or

¹ Macpherson did not know anything about the true history of Abbé Chambers; he excuses the fact of his having left Scotland to accept the post of Almoner in France by saying that "he had probably been banished for life." A letter, entitled "Instruction au Sieur Deschambres s'en allant en Écosse," dated 1st September 1637, is printed in *Lettres du Cardinal Richelieu*, Vol. V, pp. 847-50, Paris, 1863.

² *Narration*, p. 209.

³ See Appendix IV.

⁴ A brother-in-law of Cardinal Richelieu.

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els to Monstreill. I suspect you will sie me shortlye in Paris. I pray God it be not to mak a longer woyage, the which I shall shift the fairest way I may, always it is not necessarie you lat anie man know therof, for desynes may chaing. be pleased to delyuer the enclosed for Chanoine Leslye¹ to Patrick Con & to giue him sex or eight sols of my monis for to pay the post, as matters shall happen to occurre I shall informe eather be word or wreitt, be pleased to remember my seruice to your brother

“ your affectioned cousin and seruant

“ THOMAS CHAMBERS.

“ Amiens 24 July 1638.”

In the autumn of the same year (1638) Thomas Chambers was back in Paris, and he sang the High Mass and Te Deum at Notre Dame on the 3rd September in thanksgiving for the birth of Louis XIV.² He did not manage to “shift” the making the longer voyage; in 1639 he was travelling between Paris and London, and there is evidence to show that in 1640 he still held correspondence with the Covenanters.³ Many years later, Chambers—now almoner to Cardinal Mazarin—was still in the thick of political intrigues, still suspected, though there is no actual proof, of serving the King’s enemies:—

“ Sir Edward Nicholas to Sir Edward Hyde. 1²/₂ September 1652.

“ I pray be still pressing the K[ing] of France to hasten his effectual letters to encourage these States to assist the K[ing] which I may tell you I doubt you [will] not so easily procure as you are there made to believe, there being (as I hear) by the means of one Holden and Dr Chambers (a Scots papist), an intelligence still kept on foot between the Cardinal and Cromwell.”⁴

To this letter Hyde replied that Chambers had been dead for nearly a year. But it does not follow from this reply that Chambers can be acquitted of having acted for Mazarin against the interests of the exiled King. As a consequence of his “desire to become greit,” Thomas Chambers had gradually become involved in the intrigues of politicians. In the service

¹ William Leslie, Canon of S. Quentin.

² *Lettres du Cardinal Richelieu*, tome VI, p. 148.

³ See Appendix VI.

⁴ *The Nicholas Papers* (Camden Society), London, 1886, Vol. I, p. 309.

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of Richelieu he had taken the side of the Covenanters, and thus been disloyal to the interests of the Catholics in Scotland ; it is probable that his conscience was equally supple under the orders of Mazarin. The Scottish Jesuits, whose loyalty to the King never faltered, probably did not know exactly what Chambers was doing. They must, however, have suspected something. I find it difficult to believe that Mr Leith, Principal of the Scots College, Paris, could have been completely ignorant of the political work upon which his friend was engaged.

The history of the Scots College from 1623, when it had almost ceased to exist under the misrule of Alexander Pendrick, to the appointment of Robert Barclay as Principal in 1653, remains untold. It is probable that if the facts were known they would reveal during those years a period of peaceful stagnation. David Chambers must have taken some active steps towards reforming the College, for it was under his rule that there took place the final fusion between the old and the new foundations. George Leith has left no record either of rule or misrule. He had been Principal for eight years when Father Christie wrote to Rome in 1649, complaining about the "imperfection and abuse of this Scottish hous . . . discredite to catholiks and to our nation." The reformation of the College dates from 1653, when Robert Barclay became Principal, and William Ballantyne was appointed first Prefect of the Secular clergy in Scotland.

The unfriendly attitude of the Scottish Jesuits towards the Scottish Secular priests in France, and their attempt to get control of the Scots College, Paris, must be attributed to a mixture of motives not easy to analyse. The Jesuit Fathers believed that they could make a success of the seminary, and that under their rule a constant supply of well-trained priests would be provided for the mission in Scotland. Father Christie did not seek an idle supremacy ; he was not moved by ambition in the worldly sense. It is obvious that he had every reason to mistrust Abbé Chambers and his friends. Since the reform of the French clergy, so effectively, and, as might be said, miraculously, achieved by Cardinal de Bérulle, Père Olier, St Vincent de Paul, and others less known to fame, people in France had begun to look with suspicion upon "priests who hid their names under the titles of Abbé, Prior, and Chanoine."¹

¹ Le P. Amelote, *Vie du P. Ch. de Condren*, quoted by Henri Bremond, *Hist. Litt. du Sentiment Religieux en France*, Vol. III, p. 166.

CHAPTER V

THE SCOTS COLLEGES ABROAD—ROME

Foundation by Pope Clement VIII—Problems and difficulties—The “Mission Oath”; opposition of the Jesuit Fathers—Princess Rosana—Misgovernment of Father Andrew Leslie—Turbulent Scottish students—A tumult in the College—Two students expelled—A letter of complaint from Scotland—Character and history of Father Andrew Leslie—A few types of Scottish students—A Scottish surgeon, his wife, and family—The entertaining return of Paul Collison from Rome to Dijon.

A HOSPITIUM for Scottish pilgrims and students had existed at Rome long before the foundation of the present Scots College by Clement VIII in 1600, but almost all of its history has been forgotten. The Abbé Macpherson says that the ancient Scottish hostel was situated on the ground now occupied by the Church of St Andrea delle Fratte. The property had fallen into the hands of Italians in 1590, when Bishop Chisholm, of Vaison, expelled from his See of Dunblane by the Reformers, came to Rome and succeeded in restoring it to its rightful owners.¹

The Bull of Foundation of the Scots College laid no obligation on the students to become priests, and many of those who entered during the early years had no such intention. After the first quarter of the seventeenth century, however, lay students were not admitted without the special permission of the Cardinal Protector. The position of the College was strengthened by the establishment, in 1622, of the Congregation De Propaganda Fide, the central missionary department of the Church for the supervision of ecclesiastical affairs in pagan and non-Catholic countries. The provision of priests for Scotland and similar countries was one of the most urgent problems that the new department had to solve. Every attempt to govern the Scots College with Rectors of foreign nationality had proved disastrous. Priests for Scotland had to be trained by Scotsmen. The Scottish Secular clergy were

¹ “The remains of the dilapidated effects of this establishment were incorporated with the present College in 1606.” Paul Macpherson, *Preface to MS. History of the Scots College, Rome.*

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so few in number that they could not provide teachers, and the direction of the College was therefore handed over to the Scottish Jesuit Fathers.

Lest the students under Jesuit rule should be too readily inclined to join the Society, the Congregation of Propaganda introduced, in 1625, an obligation known as the "mission oath," whereby every candidate admitted to the College, and supported by its funds, promised not to enter a Religious Order until he had served at least three years in Scotland as a Secular priest. This obligation proved an efficient check to the recruiting activities of the Scottish Jesuits, who endeavoured, but without success, to get it removed. They asserted that many of the youths who came to Douai and Paris had no desire to become Secular priests, and that, if the oath were to be maintained, the supply of scholars for the College at Rome would run short. The opposition of some of the Scottish Jesuits to the policy of Propaganda did not meet with the support of their Superiors in Rome, and in spite of all attempts made to get the oath abrogated, it was continuously in force until 1660, when it was made still more stringent, and no student was allowed to enter a Religious Order without special permission from the Holy See. This legislation, imposed upon the Jesuits in charge of the Scottish seminary at Rome, may have been necessary, but it placed them in a difficult position. The discussions, the wrangling which ensued, bulk largely in the correspondence and the history of the Colleges during the second half of the seventeenth century. The principal factor in the situation was that the Scottish students who went to the seminaries did not wish to become Secular priests. Both Father Gall and Father Christie, in their letters to the Rector at Rome, repeatedly insist upon this point :—

"Fr. Gall (Douay) to Fr. And. Leslie (Rome) 20. Nov. 1649.

"As for sending you 3 youthes I haue not but one Al. Leith fitt for yr house, the others three being only in poesie or Rhetoricke, foreby that he & they all ar fully mynded to be of our Society, & thus could not be accepted off there in yr colledge no more then Ja Forbes. Yr R. by tyme must labour to persuade his Holyness by the Cardinal Protector, F. Vicare General, or any els pouerfull, that he change that oathe in an other obliging the students of yr colledge to become Priests in genere Religious or Seculare, other wyse all ours educated heere inclining to become Religious, & seeing

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no fruit done in the Mission but by Religious, cannot be sent thether, unlesse wee would endanger them to loose their vocation, & become (as the most part of all educated there not Religious) our professed enemyes. If you can compasse this, you will benefitt much the mission, & yr owne colledge to the good, & may upon such condition haue alle youthes sent out of this wherewith to mayntaine a glorious colledge. Ponder this seriouslie as a matter of mayne moment."

Father Gall wrote repeatedly from Paris, asking Father Andrew Leslie to use his influence with the General of the Jesuits to get the oath set aside :—

"Paris. July 15th 1650.

"I wreat to F. Christie that he send you two or three, but he replyes they will be Religious, & start at your oathe there, which is Lapis offensionis or petra scandali. Good father aduyse wt our R. F. General & the Assistents there, if it were not expedient to deale wt his Holynesse for obtayning permission to alter that promise in another of becoming Priest secular or regular, which if you obtayne not, you will be sure to gett no youths at all, frome any part, & you know too well that secular Priests cannot liue in Scotland, hauing no Superior, subordination, nor meanes whereby to subsist. The young man called Rosse of whome I wrot in my last will not accept of that oathe, albeit well mynded other wyse. So yr R. must not wreat to us that yr house wilbe lost if wee sende not youths, but labour to gett that oathe changed by F. General or F. Oliua there, otherwyse non of our cuntrey will euer comme thether, except meere neccessity or ignorance of ye promise cause them, & such ar little better then non at all. Weighe this as a matter of mayne consequence, & upon which dependeth the standing or falling of yr colledge, & endeavour to make our FF. there sensible yrof. . . ."

When Father Christie was appointed to Douai, he also worked hard to get the obligation removed. An interesting example of his endeavours to pull the strings in Rome is contained in a letter written on the 18th June, 1650 :—

"To Fr. And. Leslie (Rome) 18th June 1650.

"REUEREND FATHER,

"Your last of the 13 of May came to my hands yesterday. I hope James Gordon, and the other from F. Gall be arriued their. I urite before seuerall times that Jhon Seaton is resoluēt

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to tak some other course, neither uil be saecular preest, nor tak that oath, which doe terrifie and hinder many. If Princesse Rosana,¹ uho hath done soe much, uare rightlie informed, and sollicitat she could obtain from his hol. that the oath should be onlie to be preests uith libertie to be religious or saeculares, and that the religious principally hath laboured best, and conseruet the Catholique Religion in Scotland, saeculares made Preests their [*i.e.* in Rome] taking conditiones in France, and elshair abroad. This yr R. uil doe ueale to urge, yet uarilie, and uith those uho are pouerful uith her, she may obtain that for the good of her colledge, and our poor countrie. It uare expedient she did this as of her self and not moued be oures, be reason of the Congr. de Pgda. If this be not done in time be that uorthy Princess uhom God conserue and blis, the difficulties of that hous uil increas and not diminish. The grauel hath uexet me some time past, and nou force me to end, saluteing al frinds, and recommending me to yr R. SS. and their prayers.

“W. CHRISTIE.”

The scheme suggested in this letter did not meet with any success. A reply sent eighteen months later by Father Andrew Leslie, which has not been preserved, caused Father Christie to change his tone:—

“Fr Christie (Douay) to Fr. And. Leslie (Rome) 24 Jan. 1652.

“I am sory yr. R. doe soe sullamly urite or beleiue me to suggest the taking auay ye oath from yr College, which I neuer intendet only urite to those I uas obliged proposeing if not be any of the Society, if be some other, as Principessa Rosena Pamphlie his holynes uold grant that particular grace that they making the oath could be either saecular Preests or religious as God called them, this uold redound to ye great

¹ Olympia Aldobrandini, daughter of Giorgio Aldobrandini, Prince Rosano, married in 1647 Camillo Pamphili, nephew of Pope Clement VIII, a Cardinal not in Holy Orders. Father Christie mentions that the Princess was “neece to the fundator,” *i.e.*, Clement VIII. (Christie to Talbot, 2nd May, 1655.) De Retz says that she was young and beautiful; he used her influence in 1650 to obtain his Cardinal’s hat (*Mémoires de Cardinal de Retz*, II, p. 170; III, p. 41). Mazarin, writing from Paris to the French Ambassador at Rome on the 12th August, 1651, recommends him to keep on good terms with the Prince and Princess of Rosano (*Lettres de Mazarin*, tome IV, p. 338). The Princess died in 1681 (G. Novæ, *Elementi della storia dei Sommi Pontifici*, lib. IX, p. 3, n. Rome, 1822).

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good of that hous and mission which if you consideret rightly (as others doe) you wold wish the same. . . . Peruse my last and consider frindly if I haue merite such form of writeing. I in my bed wearied with the quartan and grauel am forced to end. W. CHRISTIE.

“As to my affection to the clergie, I concurred and assisted 6 saecular Preests made in my time their, as to yat hous and mission I hope to haue gifen sufficient testimony of my gooduil.”

Reading between the lines of his apology, it seems as if someone in authority, or possibly Mr William Leslie, Agent for the Scottish Mission at Rome, had expressed to Father Andrew Leslie disapproval of Father Christie on three grounds : (1) that he had tried to get the oath removed ; (2) that he had suggested the intervention of the Princess ; (3) that he showed in his correspondence a dislike of the Seculars. It is difficult not to have some sympathy with Father Christie and his colleagues at Douai. A vocation to the priesthood is so entirely a personal matter that any interference from outside is unwise and dangerous. The Jesuits have often been accused, at this period and in later days, of using undue influence, when they were in a position to do so, to persuade students to join their Society. Such a charge is difficult to prove or disprove. In the case of the Jesuit Fathers at Douai, two points should be noted : First, boys who went to the College were nearly all sent there by Scottish Jesuits, and had been brought up in Scotland under the care of Jesuits ; second, all knew that the Seculars in Scotland had no organisation, no recognised position, no money. For a Secular priest there was no refuge for sickness or old age ; no certain subsistence even when on the mission. From 1600 to 1650 a Secular priest could not live in Scotland without private means or special help from some kinsman. The Scottish Jesuits were not by any means well off, and they suffered hardships without complaint :—

“Scarse haue they bread to liue upon that labour there, & eury one in lieu of giuing them any charity, endeauours to rauish what is due to them, they marche now eury one a foote, & carie their altar grayth upon their owne bakes. (F. Gall to F. Adam Gordon. Oct. 23. 1652.)”

But Jesuit organisation gave a sense of security and *esprit de corps*, which were valuable things in a time of persecution.

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It is therefore probable that most of the youths who went to Douai about the middle of the seventeenth century were strongly inclined, from a material point of view alone, to join the Society of Jesus, and very unwilling to become Seculars. This indeed is what the Fathers constantly repeat in their private correspondence.

The Register of the Scots College at Rome shows that, about this time, many students stayed in the College two or three years, left immediately before the time they were due for ordination, and subsequently entered the Society. Thus in practice the obligation or "mission oath" was avoided. Either a dispensation was granted, or the fact of having left the College without Orders was regarded as a sufficient release. Had there not been some loophole of escape, it is probable that very few youths from Douai would have gone to the College at Rome. Those who did go were generally asked to sign the obligation within six months of arrival. The brief entries in the Roman Register give no hint of all these difficulties, which appear so clearly in the contemporary letters. The following entry is typical of many in the Register at this time :—

" 1652. April 23. John Irvin of Aberdeen. Took the oath 19 May; studied philosophy two years. Left 1653. Entered the Society of Jesus; died in Germany."

Father Gall wrote on the 8th of March 1652, from Paris :—

" There is one Johnne Irwin whome last summer I instructed heere, since he hath abiured heresie & made his generall confession to F. Irwin Capuchin whos letter to me beareth wittnesse he is eniourned by Germany frome Flanders for yr towne & college, if he come & you finde him fitt & willing, you may accept of him, but I would not haue you to exact any oathe of him at least not the first yeare or 6 month at least, for he being his fathers elder sonne, may remayning secular doe much good in Scotland by tyme, and serue for a ureist¹ to our FF. to whome I'l wreat to trye in the meane tyme if his father can be enduced to sende 300 ff yearly wherewith to paye his pension there, as I beleue he will, for he wared [*sic*] 500 ff yearly upon him at Bourges in france where sent him to studie to the lawes. Al. Leyth knowis the youth particularly, he is wittie but somewhat inconstant, wch yet he may haue happily casten off wt heresie. howsoever you

¹ Ureist=jurist. He would be able to help the Fathers to evade the Penal Laws.

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may take a tryall of him. I am labouring to conuert another uery able youth heere presently whome I'l sende thether if God touche him in September next if you haue place. . . ."

Alexander Leith, who is mentioned in this letter, was a son of Patrick Leith, of Harthill, and Anna Abercromby, of Birkenbog. According to the *Douai Diary*, he was at the College there in 1649. That he had left Douai to go to the Scots College, Rome, is implied by a sentence in a letter of Father Gall's of the 8th September, 1651 :—

"Fr. Gall (Paris) to F. And. Leslie (Rome) 8th Sept. 1651.

"The first of this A. Leyth departed hence towards your quarters, he is fully resolved to be of the Society, & vertuously enclyned I confyde he shall giue yr R. all satisfaction. I kept him heere on my charges 3 weekes expecting R. Barclay to sende wt him but he not comming nor word of him all that tyme, I resolved to dismisse him in company of two english comming thether. Mr Leyth his Supr.¹ would giue him nothing at all, nay not whole shoes and Breeches, so I furnished him, & in all aduanced 57 ff to him, wt a letter to take up what more he should stand in need of by the way. This day 8th of Sept. I sende towards you also Rob. Barclay who arryued hether yesterday only from Douay hauing been detayned 10 dayes or 12 by the way for want of a passe, & conuoye frome Arras to Amiens & hether; neither could the F. Rector of Douay sende him sooner hether or any other waye the two armyes lying 6 weekes space on eache syde of that towne. To him I aduanced 13 ff forby 3 pistolles he brought by bill of exchange frome Arras, of wch wt the former I doubt not but yr R. will be accomptable to the poorest of Missions; it may be he ouertake the other. I haue wreatin to Lyons to informe them what way they shall hold. I hope they shall both proue able & vertuous youthes hauing beene well educated, & getting a perfyte good tincture of piety in Douay. . . ."

Alexander Leith was determined to become a Jesuit; he went to Rome, remained four years at the Scots College, and was there ordained. In 1655 he went to Scotland, and after working there for several years as a secular priest, finally entered the Society and, returning to the mission, continued to labour there till his death in April, 1675.

The following entry in the College Register refers to a

¹ Principal of the Scots College, Paris.

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student who evidently managed in some way or other to evade the obligation :—

“ 1651 May 27. James Gordon from the diocese of Aberdeen. Took the oath the 5th of August of that year ; studied philosophy 3 years, Theology one year. Left in 1655. Afterwards entered the Society of Jesus ; was a missionary for many years in Scotland.”

This brief record is enlightened by a letter from Father James Anderson (the boy's uncle) at Douai, to Father Adam Gordon, Rome, dated 19th March, 1653 :—

“ Be pleased to deliuer the inclosed to James Gordon, he signifieth to me the special caire ye haue of him, I thank yr Rnce kyndly for itt. itt seemes he apprehendeth much to be ane secular preist, and for that reason is affrayed of the minor orders, bot I haue written to him that they bring no obligation of preisthood, and therfor that he go on uithout any apprehension with the rest. I haue animat him the best I can, bot leaueth the principal part to yr Rce, uho I know hath no litle to doe, to giue satisfaction to all thes in that hous, and others uho hath relation to itt. . . .”

There seems to be little doubt that the Jesuit Fathers sometimes sent to Rome students whom they knew to have no intention of becoming Secular priests. Alexander Sinclair, who arrived at the College in November 1650, took the oath on the 24th February of the following year, and left for Spain in 1654 “ on account of ill health,” is a case in point. When he left Paris in August, 1650, in company with another student, he carried with him a letter of recommendation from Father Gall to the Rector of the College at Rome, in which he is described as :—

“ . . . educated amongst us somme 5 or 6 yeares space, partly in Douay partly in Madrid, well mynded & affected to our Societie in which he is resoluèd to liue & die, if he be thought fitt. . . .”

In such circumstances the question of the mission oath created difficult problems for the Jesuit Fathers, even in the case of youths who had apparently no specific vocation for a religious Order. Father Gall wrote again on 19th August, 1650, about a student who had accompanied Alexander Sinclair to Rome :—

“ The other scholler I sende you in company of the

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former is one Edward Whyte borne in Buchan cusin to Mr Al. Bruce¹ who was educated there and at Douay, a youth of a sharpe piercing witt, if he deceiue me not, & well enclyned, he studied in St. Andrewes & came hether but 6 weekes ago or thereby. I receiued him in the church 2 dayes only befor his departure hence so he is but a Neophyte. . . . I did promise to his cusin that for one yeare at least he should not be urged to take any oathe untill he were more amply instructed, & had full tyme to aduyse; yet he told me he was most enclyned to become ecclesiasticke already. . . . Use him gently and urge him not (for the tyme at least I promised) otherwyse he shalbe the last I'l sende that waye. . . .”

Edward White stayed at the College only about three months. An entry in the Register states that “he is said to have become a Dominican.” This fact is confirmed in a letter written by Father Gall, dated 10th November, 1651:—

“I heare that F. Primrose the Dominican conducted Ed Whyte to Tolose where he setled him in their Nouiciat. he himself liueth heere in Paris not in any of his conuents, but in a priuat chamber, getting monyes for his Masse for his dailie maintenance.”

It soon became evident to the Scottish Jesuits at Paris and Douai that the mission oath would not be amended, and Father Christie writes in 1651, recommending the Rector at Rome to postpone its administration as long as possible:—

“Fr. Christie (Douay) to Fr. And. Leslie (Rome). (No date, but endorsed on back, 1651.)

“To your laconik I retorne not long, yet direct ansuer of 2 pointes ingeminat be you. . . . I recommend al to yr R. cheefly Mr Andersone or Gray, uho being neu conuerttet at Paris before his going to Rome his frindes al heretiques except

¹ Alexander Bruce, a Scottish secular priest of whom little is known. He was at Douai for a short time, and went to Rome in 1631. He left Rome in 1638, and when he arrived at the Scots College, Paris, instead of going on to Scotland, he took the post of Chaplain to a Scottish regiment in France (Discessit 1638. Fuit deinde Eleemosinarius Legionis Scotticæ in Gallia: *Records of Scots Colleges*, p. 109). The Douglas regiment was the only Scottish unit in France at this time. R. Pendrick (Rome) wrote to Mr Chalmers at Paris on 2nd November 1638, “I am sorie Mr Bruce, who once was a soier in Holand, should become soe fenthearted. I feare there be too much Spanish blood in him.” References in letters in the Archives of Propaganda indicate that he served on the mission in Scotland under the Prefect, Mr Ballantyne, between the years 1653 and 1655 (*Arch. de S. Cong. Prop. Fide.*, Vol. 297, folios 287, 293).

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one brother, the combustion in Scotland being soe that monyes can not be hade thir times, soe neither Cardinals nor Father General being informed uil urge such, yet if you can doe it to him and the like uithout their notice prolonging time it uil not be amiss, seing youthes can not be hade, if you can haue ane prudent F. Prefect it uould be good for that hous. . . .”

The policy of passive resistance to the oath had proved successful from the point of view of the mission during Father Christie's own government of the Scots College, Rome, from 1644 to 1646. “Urge none uith that oathe,” he says in the letter quoted above, “as I did not, and yet 6 preests uare made in my time.” Three of these six went as missionaries to Scotland; two of them were Secular priests, John Walker and Thomas Lumsden; the third, Alexander Lumsden, became a Dominican (*College Register*, pp. 112, 113). But during the years 1649 to 1651, out of fourteen students whose names are entered in the *College Register* only six took Holy Orders, and of these only two went to Scotland as Secular priests. This failure of so many vocations, due perhaps in part to the unpopularity of the mission oath, was chiefly the result of what Father Christie called “evil government.”

The College did not prosper under the Rectorship of Father Andrew Leslie. Writing to him from Douai on 27th June 1650, Father Christie gives a hint of the difficulties with which the Rector had to contend:—

“It uil exhilarat me much to knou of the progres of your youthes in uertue and letteres, uich I hope could be more aduanced, and to your greater contentment if you could haue ane good praefect Scottish man, or french fitt to attend them, the defect of that hath done harme, try to mitigate that rigorous oath, the hinderance of many, also meanes to mak so long uoyage. . . .”

He insists in nearly every letter written about this time to Father Leslie upon the importance of strict supervision:—

“Douay 10 August 1650.

“I urite to your R. diuers times before that the only meane to haue peace, fruit, and contentment in that hous is to haue ane prudent and zealous F. Praefect to inform, and attend them at home and abroad. . . . if possibly a tramontano, Frenche or Germane father could be hade, rather then ane Italian, except he uare a Lombard. . . .”

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From this letter it appears that the College was partly staffed by foreign Jesuits, with whom the Scottish youths did not agree. I have found at Blairs a copy of part of a register of the staff and students at the Scots College, Rome, which is not the same as the official register published by the Spalding Club. It is entitled *Catalogus Personarum*; the copy was made by Canon Clapperton, from a copy made by Bishop Kyle. The original is noted by the Canon to have been at Preshome; the manuscripts, formerly at Preshome, were removed to Blairs, but the catalogue in question is apparently not among them. According to this *Catalogus Personarum*, the Prefect at the College in 1656 was Constantinus Constantine, and the Father Confessor from 1654 to 1656 Diego Rosa. The names of the priests who held these posts in previous years are not given. There are details of college history in this *Catalogus* which help to explain some of the obscure references in the correspondence of the Jesuit Fathers to disturbances which took place under the rule of Father Leslie.

The Register of the Scots College, Rome, an official document, is always brief, and invariably discreet. Nothing has been allowed to appear in the record, which was thought, at the time of entry, to be a possible occasion of scandal; but without scandals it is difficult to write history. Facts which are unpalatable to the compiler of official documents have a queer capacity for surviving, and often reappear centuries afterwards in unexpected places.

Some of the young men sent to Rome in the year 1650 had been through the wars in Scotland, and did not submit easily to ecclesiastical discipline; four such students arrived at the College in 1650—Arthur Forbes, Alexander Irvine, Patrick and Alexander Gray. Three out of the four youths, all of distinguished Scottish families, remained there a very short time; their names were entered in the Register, probably by the Rector, Father Andrew Leslie, with significant brevity:—

“ 12 Feb. 1650. Arthurus Forbes. Studuit logicæ. Discessit 3 Feb. 1651.

“ 12 Feb. 1650. Alexander Irvin. Studuit logicæ. Discessit 21 Junii 1651.

“ 6 April 1650. Alexander Gray. Discessit 3 Feb. 1651.

“ 6 April 1650. Patricius Gray. Discessit 18 Sept. 1652.”

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The identity of the four young men can be fixed from contemporary letters. Father Gall wrote from Douai on 7th January, 1650, to Father Leslie in Rome :—

“ As I wrot in my former Al. Irwin sonne to Artanfort & Arthur Forbes sonne to Blackton may be both easely induced I warrant you to studdie there.”

They had left Brussels in October, 1649, and their journey to Rome seems to have turned into a prolonged holiday, as they took over three months to arrive at their destination.

There are few Catholic youths at this period of history whose chequered educational career can be so clearly followed as that of Arthur Forbes, of Blackton, when the available fragments of information have been assembled from a variety of sources.

His father, James Forbes, of Blackton, who married Magdalene Fraser, of Philorth, was an Aberdeenshire laird, who is frequently mentioned in contemporary Scottish records. Spalding wrote that on the 18th April, 1641, his house was raided and “ ane preist called Robertstone ” was found hiding in it.¹ This was the first interruption to Arthur’s education. Two sons at Blackton’s house, Walter and Arthur, were at this time sixteen and ten years of age. The priest was Father John Robertson, S.J., who had been employed as their tutor.

In the summer of 1643 the two youths went to France under the charge of Gray, of Schivas, sailing from Aberdeen to Dieppe in the same ship as Gilbert Blakhal :—

“ The nynth day of August we parted from Dieppe in a carosse of relay, going for Rouen, for which we payed two pistoles or twenty francks. We were sex in company in it, to wit, the ladye and her servand, the Laird of Shives, and two yong gentlemen, sonnes to Blaktowne Forbes, and me.”²

They both arrived at the Scots College, Douai, on 15th September, 1643. Arthur was then twelve years old. He is described in the Douai Diary as “ boni ingenii, sed pervicacis indolis ” (of good capacity, but of stubborn disposition). Four years later he was sent to Madrid, where he arrived on the 10th November, 1647. It is now clear that the boy wanted

¹ *Troubles*, Vol. II, p. 236. John Robertson was imprisoned in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, “ thirty weeks in close prison in great miserie, not having anything to live upon.” The Lords in Council ordered the Provost and Bailies of Edinburgh to give him the liberty of a “ free prisoner ” until a ship could be found to transport him overseas (14th December 1643; *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, Vol. VIII, 2nd Series, p. 20).

² *Brieffe Narration*, p. 191.

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to be a soldier. He is still "pervicacis indolis," but the entry in the Madrid Register adds "militiam sequi obstinate decrevit." After his departure from Madrid, in April, 1648, he went for a short time to Scotland, according to the *Douai Diary* (p. 38), to escort thither a brother John, who has not elsewhere been mentioned. He was back again at Douai in 1649, and left in the Autumn for Rome, where his history at the Scots College was brief and stormy. He subsequently became Laird of Balvenie, in Banffshire, and died in 1695.¹

Alexander Irvine, "sonne to Artanfort," the companion of Arthur Forbes, must have been between twenty and twenty-five years old at the time he went to Rome. His education at home had been interrupted by an adventure related by Spalding, who describes how several members of the Irvine family were betrayed by the son of the Earl of Caithness:—

"Vpone the 15th of Junii, Alexander Irving, younger of Drum; Marie Gordon his ladie; Robert Irving, his brother; Mr Alexander Irving, sone to Johne Irving of Auchtamfard; and Robert Irving, toune's officiar, with tua gentilwemen attending the young ladie, schippit quyetlie about Fraserbrughe, and to the sea go thay; bot his ladie sore trublit with the sey seiknes, as the rest wes, thay vnhappellie landis in Caithness, within tuo myllis to Weik, quhair ane committee hapnit to be sitting. Thay ar tryit, and takin be Frances Sincklair, sone to the Erll of Caithness, and second and thridis of kin with this young Lady Drum, and all wairdit togidder in the castle of Keische. . . .

"Bot heir it is to be wonderit at how vnnaturall this Frances Sincklair wes, to go tak and aprehend his blood-friend and hir husband, with his few followeris, who, in a maner, had tane schelter and protection of him, in his countrie, in the tyme of thair pitifull distress; bot rather he nicht haue aduertisit thame to go agane to the sea, and do for thameselffis, whiche vnkyndlie he did not, albeit it stood to the perrell of the gentlemenis lyves, becaus he hoipit to get payment of 18,000 merkis for taking of young Drum, 9000 merkis for his brother, 3000 merkis for Mr Alexander Irving, and 1000 merkis for Robert Irving, as wes promitted be the committee of Estaites. Thus, this miserabill man, looking to this worldlie pelf, forget his honour and his

¹ J. Ferguson, *Two Scottish Soldiers*.

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blood, to the gryte discomfort and greif of thir honorable personis. . . .”¹

It is probable that most of the members of this party were Catholics. Alexander Irving was kept in prison for about a year till he was released by Montrose, after the battle of Kilsyth, in August, 1645. He probably followed the army of Montrose, and, when the Marquis went into exile, was sent by his parents to resume his studies at the Scots College, Rome, where he had the misfortune to meet with Father Andrew Leslie, a Rector who showed himself incapable of managing boys or men.

The other two youths, Patrick and Alexander Gray, arrived at Rome together on the 6th April, 1650; they had left Paris on 1st February with “young Fedret,” Irving of Fedderet, who was not a Catholic, although Father Christie had:—

“ . . . dealt uith him already, bot the time uas short. . . . He hath beene puritanically bred, also uorldly respects of his mother, and old Lady uith their estates, yet he is a uery good, uise young man.”

Father Christie asked:—

“ . . . that he be lodget in ane chamber uithin the College so long he stayes their it uare uery expedient. . . . Let the other 2 tak the habite as the rest (Paris Feb. 1, 1650).”

In spite of all these precautions, Irving of Fedderet stayed only a month and “obstinatior abiit.”²

Alexander Gray is referred to by Father Gall, in a letter dated 16th February, 1650, as “sone of Sr Wm Gray, brother to the now Master of Gray.” His companion, Patrick Gray, a cousin of Father Gall’s, was particularly recommended by Father Christie, who wrote to Father Dempster at the Scots College, Rome, on 14th September, 1649, pointing out that the youth was well connected, and should be treated with special care:—

“ . . . seing he is but neuely resaued be me in the Church, and that he is not uery ueale grounded in his studyes, uich the yeares past of troubles, he hath neglected, let ane particular care be hade of this.”

¹ Spalding, *Memorials of the Troubles in Scotland*, Vol. II, p. 379.

² *Catalogus Personarum*, 1650. Alexander Irving, of Fedderet, was a graduate of Marischal College, Aberdeen, 1649 (*Records of the College and University of Aberdeen*, Vol. II, p. 215: New Spalding Club, 1898).

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In a letter of the same date, Father Christie repeats his special recommendation of Patrick Gray¹ to Father Andrew Leslie :—

“[Patrick] Gray elder sone to sometime Inuergoury, nou Laird or Goodman of Breky in Angus, coosing to my Lord Gray, his Lady the youthes mother coosing to the Earle of Airely. His parents hath sent him quietly out of the country uith Monsr Banadin, uho hath resolved to uisite Rome this yeare and study in the Scottish College, his father may, and hath promised to pay thankfully for him either in Scotland to ours or abroade, to that effect I shal urite to the F. Rector of Douay if he uil cause pay his pension at Rome . . . he is named Johnston that he be not knouen for his father may suffer for him. he is of ane modest and douce inclination, melancholique, of ane better judgement I collect, nor of memory or of apt talents for studyes, which I feare he hath thir yeares past partly forgett, as he doe confess, or hath not made great progress. I uold haue hade him a yeare in Douay or at Moulines uhair our B.Con doe teache the Rhetorique to perfite him for phylosophy, bot his desire and Mr Banandines also is for Rome this yeare, soe I entreate most affectuously all meanes be used to instruct him in uertue (he is neuely made catholique be me informed heare) and letteres priuatly or publicquely as is iudged most fitting, not only for his parentes their greate affection towards us, bot for the good he may doe God uilling in these pairtes (haueing soe noble frindes) himself. also, if they be ueale used and resaue contentment it uilbe a motiue to haue otheres of the best nott to come and pay in that College, for uich I shal labour to obtain. Soe remitting thir 2 noble youthes uho uil not be burdensome to your R. and FF. their charitable consideration and care, and this yr R. may declare in my name of both to F. Dempster, F. Assistant or any other, to uhom I neade not to be soe prolix in recommending them their parents being best knouen to yr. R. . . .”

His departure for Rome was delayed by illness. Father Christie writes in a postscript to a letter dated from Paris, 22nd October, 1649 :—

“The youth Mr Gray of the feiuer first, and smal poches

¹ Patrick Gray, owner of West Braky, “and his son of the same name, Catholics whom neither Presbytery nor Episcopacy could constrain to attend the Protestant worship” (*New Statistical Account*, XI, p. 396).

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not yet conualessed, no hopes of his going to Rome this yeare as I expected."

When Patrick and Alexander Gray arrived at the Scots College in April 1650, they found there Alexander Irving and Arthur Forbes. What took place when these four young Scotsmen got together cannot be discovered. The Register of the College for 1650 says that Forbes and Alexander Gray left on the same day, a coincidence which is explained by a note in the *Catalogus Personarum*, stating that these two had raised "an unprecedented and unheard of tumult in the College, and were therefore expelled on 3rd February 1651."

Alexander Irving had left in June of the previous year, after a stay of little more than three months. Patrick Gray remained till September 1652.

These youths were, no doubt, of a turbulent disposition, unaccustomed to restraint and difficult to handle; but the story of their adventure at the College shows that the Rector did not know how to keep them in order.

After the expelled students had departed, the Rector continued to have trouble with some of the other youths, and he wrote letters of complaint to Father Gall, who answered by sending him some tactful advice:—

"Fr. Gall (Paris) to Fr. And. Leslie (Rome) 10. Nov. 1651.

"I am infinitely sorie you gett soe little satisfaction of Mr Haye. What I wrot euer heertofore that yr R. should be pleased not to seeme to mistrust him, but to shewe him all the tokens of fatherlie affection, (that if he losse himself his perdition comme of himself & nowyse of you), I iterat agayne by this, & in myne to him do euer entreat him also to haue full confidence & trust in yr R. and unfold his hart in your paternall breast & bosome, abstaining from factions, plotts & undermining of legall Authorities of his Supr. If that be so as you insinuate in yr last, that he wt F. Mario hath dealt, so that remonstrances are giuen in agaynst yr R., F. Gordon, & B. Patrick, you haue all the reason of the world to endeauour not only to iustifie yrself & them vindicating yrself & them frome any foule aspersion, but also if he hathe wronged you by falshoods (as you wreat) & unto others, to cause him suffer the penaltie of this his misdemanour & that condignelie, but laying asyde all the least itche or touche of passion, informe yrself solidelie of the truth of the matter; not founding or grounding on surmises, which were to build upon the sands. What you subioyne that R. Wattson stands in the station of

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feare, I had much rather he should stand in that of loue, & sincere dutifull affection towards yr R., feare in subiects if seruile & not filiall is euer to be feared (nowyse fomented or fostered) by the Supr himself. . . ."

There are hints in some of the letters written from Douai and Paris during the year 1650, that Father Andrew Leslie's government was not giving satisfaction; but the principal evidence against him is contained in a curious letter from Scotland, dated December, 1651, and signed James Gray,¹ addressed "For my worthie freind Robert Gall."

The information in this letter can only have come from the expelled students. It seems, however, to bear the marks of truth:—

"HONORED SR.

"Since the wreiting of my last I haue gotten information of some particulars that ar necessar to be imparted to you. . . . I entreat you most earnestlie, and I conjure you that you wreit to Mr Andro to use him (Patrick Gray) kyndlie, and discreitlie, and let him haue no occasion to compleine, for I am crediblie informed that Mr Andro does oft, and frequentlie, boast him to the doore. Procure I pray you that this cariage be amendit, his father is the onlie man that I haue fund in this countrie that hes giuen us greatest contentment, and hes most punctuallie obeyed your order in delyuering that 300 ff at the first sight of your letter. Theirfore seing he proceids so honestlie with us, I entreat you again to see that his sone be kyndlie and courteouslie used.

"I am sorie that some of our freinds abroad looses our freinds heir, Mr Wm Lumsdens sone Alexander hes wreittn a letter to his father compleining on Mr Andro that he did not kyth² his freind, but shew himself his enemie, notwithstanding that his father kythed his great freind quhan he was heir in prisone.³ Alexander Gray (I heare) compleines extreamlie against him, and is verie much exasperated against

¹ Father John Smith, the Secular priest, who became a Jesuit, returned to Scotland, and resided at Aberdeen under the name of Gray. Macpherson says that he "was a man of great innocence and piety." The letter quoted is the only one from his pen amongst the MSS. at Blairs. (See also *supra*, p. 71.)

² Kyth = to reveal oneself.

³ Alexander Lumsden, of Aberdeen. According to the College Register, he left in April 1650. He became a Dominican and Missionary in Scotland. He was tried and condemned to die as a priest in the time of Oates' plot (*Rome Register*, p. 113).

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him. Mr Alexander Iruin, (as I am informed) hes binn verie hardlie used be him, and exceidinglie disoblidged, of the whiche I am verie sorie, be reasone he was my good freind, and was the first that admitted him in our regiment. You will do weile to stryue to put remedie to these inconuenients, and concurre chirfullie to gain freinds to us, rather then to loose theme we haue gained. . . .”

It is easy to imagine the indignation of Father Gall on getting this letter from Scotland, which must have arrived immediately after one he had just sent to Father Leslie, wherein having heard of troubles in the College, he had specially recommended that Patrick Gray should be kindly treated :—

“ Fr. Gall (Paris) to Fr. Leslie (Rome) 22nd Dec. 1651.

“ His parents desire earnestlie that great care be takin of his health & that he be kyndely used, & well accommodated, & truely he & they both deserue this at our hands, for their house hath euer beene a station to us hetherto, & often haue they both cloathed and fedde ours in their great neede, so that I hope I neede not entreat yr R. any further to requyte their louing kyndnes & charity towards ours, by yr fatherlie care & kyndnes exhibited towards their sone, lett him lake nothing, encourage him to make all the possible progresse he can in uertue & letters. . . .”

Father Gall, in one of his letters to Father Leslie (10th November 1651), attributes the disturbance at the Roman College to the influence of Father Primrose, the Dominican, who had “conducted Edward Whyte to Tolose” (*supra*, p. 138). He writes that :—

“ Arthur Forbes yr goodsonne liues wt him (F. Primrose) also, but I doubt if he hath the vocation to their order. he could not gett into the Scotts house heere,¹ albeit place one was promised. He putts all the blame of the troubles in yr college & his comming away upon yr R. auerring that he & the other Graye offered to take the oathe, but you would not accept of either, & that his first cause of distrust & owtfall was yr obstinate detayning of a letter directed to him of no moment. also yr too imperious & despoticall waye of gouernement. thus he, but I entrust him not. I suspect nowe that F. Primrose hes been instrument in a part of the garboyles

¹ The Principal of the Scots College, Paris, could not very well take a student who had been expelled from the College at Rome.

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& troubles, which I wish may proue to be the last that euer fall out in that college."

The expulsion from the Roman College of the turbulent students, both of whom belonged to distinguished Scottish families, made a considerable stir, not only among the Catholics in Scotland, but also at the national colleges at Douai and Paris :—

"Fr. Gall (Paris) to Fr. Adam Gordon (Rome) 23 Oct. 1652.

"Non in the Scotts house heer [the Scots College, Paris] ar mynded to comme thether, those whome F. Andrew Lesley used so hardly & basely haue so discredited yr college heere & its silly gouvernement. But I hope yr wisdom will redresse this. . . ."

Two years later, Father James Anderson wrote from Douai to Father Adam Gordon :—

"3. Feb. 1654.

"I ame very glaid that James Gordon¹ giueth your Rce. content, and carrieth himself weal, and ame most desyrows that he be of the Society if itt be to Gods glory ; neuertheles I dar not writt to the Assistent and Substitute in his fauowr until I haue farder assurance of the constancy of his resolution, for I understand by his last letter, that he is staggering in his vocation being scandalized by yowr predecessor and some others. . . ."

Father Adam Gordon succeeded to the office of Rector at the Scots College, Rome, in June, 1652. He was a very different type of man from his predecessor. He had a great friend in Father James Anderson, the Procurator at Douai, once nicknamed "Father Puddock". They both came from Strathbogie. Before joining the Society, Father Gordon had been a soldier in Flanders. Under his rule the College prospered, and after completing his term of office in Rome, he was sent to Madrid, where he had some eventful experiences which will be presently narrated. Father Christie wrote in his characteristic style, giving the new Rector some quaint

¹ James Gordon was another student who managed to evade the mission oath. According to the Register, he was at the Roman College from 1651-55 ; entered the Society, and was a missionary for many years in Scotland (*Rome Register*, p. 114). His return to the Jesuits at Clermont College is described above, p. 84.

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advice, and complaining of the mismanagement of Father Andrew Leslie :—

“ Fr. Christie (Douay) to Fr. Adam Gordon (Rome)
30 June 1652.

“ I did knou you uas to succeed. Fr. A. and some others did against it, tho you urite the contrair, be reason of letters I urite to those their uho could doe it. and for that Fr. A. urite of necessity you must goe to Sc[otland] I urite to terrify you. after that may be done better. for the present litle to be done their. You urite not uhair Fr. A. uas gone any particular uay, I uish not to Sc. nor heare, bot rather in Setza, [*sic*] Loreto, or some place their. his cheef defect and cause of al uas that he used not my counsail bot of one B[rother] P[atrack] of uhom tak head and keep in order. tak ane praefect if you can one french . . . goe your ordinar times to the F. Gen., frequent the F. Secretair, Assistents, F. Oliua, and others you know. uisite Cardinal Lugo, and Protector, conserue F. Thomson, and let not P[atrack] hinder you to gife him some times a drink, and to dine in some of yr greate solemnities. Those imprudent and inconsiderat actes of the other mak your use of and amend. be uery uary and circumspect in gaining and conseruing friendes which the other most foolishly did not . . . read and consume this.”

Father Christie's recommendation to “conserue” Father Thomson, and “gife him some times a drink,” requires explanation. The Church of St Andrew at the Scots College in Rome was built by Father Christie, during his Rectorship, 1644-46, with funds provided by his old friend the Marchioness of Huntly, who had been driven from Scotland by the Covenanters, and was at the time residing in France. A considerable sum of money was given for the same purpose by Father William Thomson, one of the first eleven students who had entered the College at Rome. He joined the Franciscans, served on the mission at home, and was appointed Chaplain to Queen Henrietta. He was able, when holding this post, to save some money, nearly all of which he gave to Father Christie.

As Paul Macpherson says, “William Thomson lived for many years after this in Rome.”¹ Shortly after the appoint-

¹ He adds : “ But I cannot determine the date of his death.” The date is given by a letter from Father Adam Gordon, undated but endorsed 1654, which says : “ You most know that old F. Tomson is to be interred this morning, I was present when he rendered his soule to his creatour.”

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ment of Father Andrew Leslie to the post of Rector in Rome, Father Christie sent him some cold-blooded but sensible advice how to treat old Father Thomson :—

“ 17th Dec. 1649.

“ I entreate yr R. doe al you can to gain yat old man, to the end he be not rigorous for his monyes, nor be not impediment and refuge to some libertine youthes, deale with him frequently, gife some times collation, insinuat his merite, good of the youthes, credite of the hous, and honour of the nation, keep Signor Roberto uho may doe much uith him. . . .”

Father Leslie, who seems to have quarrelled with everybody, did not take the hint. He did nothing to conciliate Father Thomson, who required tactful handling :—

“ Fr. Gall (Paris) to Fr. Andrew Leslie (Rome) 16th Feb. 1650.

“ As for F. Thomson it is only most expedient yr R. labour to gayne him wt fairenesse in a condisending way to his harsh humour, giue him good wordes, & make off him, & you will easely regayne him, I had rather forgiue him what I did giue to his Nephew, then that for such a slender triffle yr R. sould be hard wt him. its far better to haue him a friend than a foe, for I know him to be a most reall & faithfull friend to such as yeald to his humour, but a fyrie foe to such as gaynestand him. . . .”

Part of Father Thomson's money had been used to build a refectory, which was completed in September 1649, so that the suggestion he should sometimes be given a drink was most appropriate. The refectory has long since been replaced by the modern College in the Via delle Quattro Fontane. St Andrew's Church is still used as the College Chapel.

Father Andrew Leslie left Rome for Scotland at the end of May 1652. He wrote a long letter to the New Rector, giving an account of his journey through Germany and Holland. He had civilian clothes made for him at Cologne, and travelled as an Italian trader. His handwriting is very bad, and some of the words are difficult to read :—

“ I wrott not to yr R. from Colone (be reasone of my sudden departure) the seconde tyme of all my proceidings and makeing of my newe cloths. Nowe arriued at Antwerpe I informe yr R. of affairs, that yr R. maye addresse the iorneye after in a more easie waye if affairs change not.

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"In the Lower Germanie al things are extreame deare my cloths excede 40 crouns, for a periweck tua Ungare ducats. I suffered euer after my arriual to Colone ane huge catharre; althoughe I wrott to yr R. that I had recouered, whilk than was trewe, but againe the miserie uexed me the seconde tyme. I passed by manie citties of Hollandes estate alwise receued by our FF galantlie; at Colone I hired ane iounge mane to be a guyde, interpreter, and halfe comerade, be reasone of my former catharre. In Hollande no hopes of shieping. After I tryed all in Amsterdame and elsewhere, no comoditie at all was to be founde; yea no navigatione from thence. In meane tyme I am in Hage, the Hollande Ammiralle returned not with the halfe number of his nauie, whilk was of 130 shieps; they suffered ane tempest by northe Scotland. Thus I come to Brabant att Antwerpe conferring with ane Inglishe brother called Robert Graye,¹ I funde the waye easie to goe for Scotland by England, as ane Italiane Merchante. Difficultie is for moneyes, for they are called downe; in England forrane coins are not valued at ye highe. In England the waye is so sure that one may carrie gold in his hand.² I goe for Ostende shortlie, but in Mechline I will visit Henrie Forsaye [Forsyth], our contrieman now their, ane iouth of great expectatione, who knowes the Hiland language.³

"I passed by Wersbruge [Würzburg] informed meself of Mr Thomas Jhonstone, Alexander Lumsdeine and others, tua not wiselie heads and most tumultuous.⁴

"Abbat Assloane⁵ in Wersbruge is ane braue mane and mickle esteemed, I went with the F. Rectour to visite their monastrie. They are said of Jhone Iruine his resolutione. I could not meet with F. Hungsling in Confluence be reasone the shieper wold not staye but ane halfe houer, whilk was not sufficient for me. Our Scotts and Englishes are retired from Holland and all the bounds of the United Prouinces, in whickle ther wilbe as great penurie, that non can liue nor trauell after ane shorte space. The Superior of the Holland

¹ Robert Graye. "This valuable lay-brother was a native of Northumberland, and died at St Omers, 25th October 1658, æt. 52" (Oliver, *Collections*, p. 106).

² Cf. *Diary of Thomas Burton*, 1658. "A man may ride all Scotland over with a switch in his hand and 100 l. in his pocket" (p. 128).

³ He afterwards worked on the Mission in the Highlands.

⁴ The *Catalogus Personarum* has a short entry attached to the name of Alexander Lumsden; the original had probably been in Father Andrew Leslie's hand: "Dismissus 21 Aprilis ineptus ad studia et Sacerdotium. Seditiosus." (Cf. *supra*, p. 146.)

⁵ Abbot Asloan, brother of George Asloan. (See Appendix V.)

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Missione dyed in meane tyme I was ther 15 August the Assumptione of our B. Laidie Mother of God, I loossed ane great freind. He spack to me but fewe words at of his beginning his agonie, after whikle tyme he could not talke mickle. In Italians he said that F. Wm Chrystie Rectour of the Scotts Seminarie in Douay informed him that it is not possible to goe to Scotland, thinking to staye my voyage. His splene and endeouour to hender and stope all going to Scotland is wonderfull, none but he saye it is impossible to goe for Scotland, yea nowe easie from Ostande. F. Jhone Seatone passed be Holland coming frome Scotland, I heare not soe longe since he departed from our countrie; non speack of his news, onlie they tell me that perhaps he will goe to Spaine, and that he must visitte the thrie iouths he brought from Scotland to Douay. I praye yr R. dealle with the Verie Rde F. General that he and others goe for Scotland, since the waye is so patent and not difficille be England, but ther must be ane good purse. It passed my expectatione and hope that I should haue spended so muche, yett al experienced affirme I haue spended but litle in respecte of the huge and highe ratt of all things in Germanie especiallie neer to Holland and Loue contries.

"I resolved to writt to yr R. of the Holland flott and other busines, but all things are not yett rype for writting. it is certane the Hollanders lossed ane great number of shieps, all forrane traffick ceased their. The Ministers are indicting fastinge and heering of preachings in all the United Prouinces, but all succeid the worse the more they preache. Thus till ane other occasione befor my shieping to England & Scotland. I remember me to yr R. SS. and all oures, praying to shoue our uerie R. F. General of the good successe God giueth me, be his Paternitie aide, deuotione and Messis, he bestowed fyftie I might applie for my uoyage. I remember me to B. P[atrack], all our best iouthis and the other sort also. Yr R. writt to Robert Graye coadiutor in Antwerpe ane Englishe mane toiled some tym in Scotland; he will direct those letters to me. My name is Sebastiano Wocchiarello.

"Yr R. seruant ANDREOWE LESLIE."

Father Andrew Leslie went to Scotland via Germany, although Father Christie was expecting him to pass by Douai and wrote on 23rd July 1652 :—

"Father An. is not as yet come, neither hath he deseruet to be uealcolm to any heare, and to feu in Scotland, for which

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mission none doe esteeme him fitt, soe the F. General should haue beene informet. . . .”

In his early life Father Andrew had worked on the mission in Scotland for about sixteen years. The story of his capture and imprisonment by the Covenanters in 1647, a vivid and extremely interesting narrative, given in his own letters, and printed by Forbes Leith in *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics*, concludes with the following note :—

“After more than a year’s incarceration, Father Leslie was released, and ordered to quit the realm . . . there is unfortunately no record to inform us how so meritorious a career was closed ” (Forbes Leith, op. cit., II, p. 3, n.).

The career was perhaps not so meritorious as Father Forbes Leith imagined. Father Christie’s letter of 20th December, 1651, contains what is probably a true summary of the real history of Father Andrew Leslie, whose exile seems to have been regarded, by the Jesuit Fathers in Scotland at the time, as a happy misfortune :—

“Fr. W. Christie (Douai) to Father Andrew Leslie (Rome)
20th Dec. 1651.

“In Rome it was writen to me [about 1645] to cause our F. General cal you out of Scotland. I uold not. You urote to be like to starue for necessity for uant of monyes, for which you uold be forced to quite the country, yet others urite you hade 2, 3 horses, and that being apprehendet the souldieres did find such number of dalers upon you proclaimed be them, and inculcat be letteres at Rome, yet I pacified all.

“Being at Douay no mind, nor hopes of your going to Rome or yat office til the time I urite soe efficaciously as euer I did for any to those did cal, and place you, F. Gall did concur also. Upon your lines, which none other uold haue done, I sent you 20 pist. I being desiret to urite for your last degree, I formet it soe loueingly that F. Montmorency replied to me that I rather seemed to mak ane encomium of your prais, nor ane strict testimony for your degree. I remit the forsaides to your consideration. As to my affection touards that your College I hope is sufficiently knouen; tooching maters of monyes I uas neuer in question, soe my life being incertane and office short, neither youres long wee in al charity shal agreee.”

When every allowance has been made for personal enmity and sharp tongues, the fact emerges from the correspondence

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that Father Andrew Leslie was a man who had no tact ; who made enemies everywhere ; who was ill-tempered, and therefore not "fitt" for the mission.¹ The only contemporary Jesuit who has a good word for him is Father Hugh Semple, at Madrid, who writes a curious sentence in a letter dated 10th January 1652 :—

"With wordis & works I sal thank your R. for the many kind deids you haue don your contriemen & naimly my nephew Robert Barklay and Alexander Sinclar. I congratulat likwys that wt your R. wisdom you haue setlit the storme that Arthur Forbes raisit against yow. Having endit your Rectori or government I sal send yow som mony for your self. I pray you indevor that Robert Barklay be a devot yong man. . . ."

"F. Andrew Lesley is arriued to Scotland the 14 of October," writes Father James Anderson on the 4th December, 1652, "by what way we know nott, without letter of commendation, which trewly did moue owrs, as they writt. . . ."

In a letter dated 10th March, 1654, Father Christie writes, without making any comment, "Father Androu Lesly is dead." This may, however, have been a false report, for he writes again on 2nd January, 1655, to F. Adam Gordon, in Rome :—

"The FF. did regrate of his (your predecessors) return affirming he gaue no good exemple nor aedification to oures nor saeculares I pray God he doe better. . . ."

Father Adam Gordon, who succeeded Father Leslie, was a good disciplinarian, and knew how to keep the students in their place. Father Christie wrote to him on the 13th May, 1653, "I am glade you keep yours in good order," and on the 19th of the same month :—

"Your Praedecessor uas put auay for euil gouernment as is reported, you gife satisfaction, as F. Secretarie doe urite to me ; follou his counsail and mine. . . ."

¹ The testimony of Montereul, French Charge d'Affaires in Scotland, is, however, not unfavourable to Father Andrew Leslie : "I have found means of getting . . . the release of Father Leslie, Jesuit, who has been prisoner for more than a year, and whom the Catholics despaired of being able to get out of prison, who was delivered into my hands, which has been a great consolation to all the good Catholics." (Montereul to Cardinal Mazarin, Edinburgh, July, 1648. *The Diplomatic Correspondence of Jean de Montereul*, S.H.S., Vol. II, p. 525, 1898-99.)

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In the official Register of the Scots College at Rome the names of students are in most cases followed by a brief biographical notice, containing often little more than the dates of arrival and departure. I find the name of Thomas Hamilton in the list for 1654; he entered the College on 15th April, and left the same year on account of ill health. It is in recommending him to Father Adam Gordon that Father Browne, writing from Paris in October, 1653, gives one of the few personal descriptions of a student that occur in these letters :—

“Ther is heere one Thomas Hamilton, about one and twentie years old, a Ministers sonne, and with that a great noble man according to the Scots forme; he hath bein a souldiour in Scotland, Ireland and France; he wanteth not sprit nor a good beginning of learning; and is now desyrous to be a scholler in youre College. If youe desyre him, and he continow in his vocation, youe shal haue him with so much viaticum as youe sall wrytt. . . .”

The *Douai Diary* for 1655 says that he was a son of Andrew Hamilton and Elizabeth Boid. His father, therefore, was perhaps Andrew Hamilton, of Millhouse, in Kilbride, who died in 1646 and who “is said to have drunk and debauched with his people, and to have gone with them to the football on the sabbath after sermon.”¹

The story of Thomas Hamilton ends in mystery. The *Douai Diary* concludes with the statement that he went back to Scotland a suspect. Father Christie had already warned the Rector at Rome about this youth in April, 1653 :—

“. . . uhat is he that Hamilton send to you be Mr Bannantine, uho is thoght surprises ours in placeing his saeculares, be uary uith him. . . .”

A different and better type of student is Francis Robertson, who arrived at Rome in 1653, and remained there seven years as a lay pupil, by special permission of the Cardinal Protector. He also is noted as having left “on account of ill health,” an assertion which in this case is perhaps true.

Francis Robertson is one of the few youths in the College at this time about whose parents it is possible to give some personal details. They seem to have been middle-class people who made no mark in the history of their day. Like so many of their fellow-countrymen, they had left Scotland to escape

¹ *Fasti Eccles. Scotticanae*, Vol. II, p. 222.

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from the miserable poverty of the country, and to avoid the intolerant tyranny of the governing Kirk. Francis Robertson's father was an army surgeon, stationed, about 1650, with a Scottish regiment in France. I have found nothing about his early life beyond what is stated in a certificate, now at Blairs, dated from Whitehall, 16th October, 1640, wherein he is referred to as a :—

“ . . . sworne Chyrurgion to her Matie. By virtue of which Place he is to enioy all such Priviledges as to their Maties Servantes doe belong, And therefore I doe hereby Advise all his Maties Officers and loving Subiects whatsoeuer to be verrey Cautious how they doe anie Act to the preiudice of the sayd William Robertson that may anie way infringe the Priviledges of their Maties seruants, as they will answere the Contempt att their perilles.”

The surgeon's wife, Barbara Robertson, had two sons, Francis and William ; she was a niece, by marriage, of old Father Thomson, and aunt to Father Andrew Leslie, to whom Father Gall wrote, asking him to persuade Father Thomson :—

“ . . . to sende some charity to his nephews wyffe heere & her two sons, she carries herself most discretely & vertuously but gets nothing from her husband.”

Father Gall's letter of 24th November, 1651, mentions Mrs Robertson's relationship to Father Andrew Leslie :—

“ My most humble service & serviceable respects to good F. Thomson wt whome I pray you to impart my Newes. I haue nothing new of moment to wreat to him, sauing that Barbara Hearnes [Mrs Robertson's maiden name] wt her two sonnes remaineth still this winter at Bethunes in flanders wt her husband, they ar all well in healthe for ought I know. F. Christy will gett easelie any letter of his or other thing directed to them, at all occasion Barbara yr Aunt is uery discreet & much to be commended for the singulare care she taketh of the good education of her children.”

There is a letter among the Blairs papers, signed Barbara Robertson, dated from Paris 17th August, 1652, which confirms the good character given her by Father Gall. It bears no address, but was obviously written to her husband at

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Bethune, and I have no doubt that this husband was William Robertson, the "sworne chyrurgion to her Majestie":—

"MON AMY

"I have receaved 2 of your letters the one of the 4th of this instant which came to my hands on Wednesday last, the other of the 26th of July wch I had but yesterday, with an enclosed to Mr Talford, I much merveille that you receave none of myne, for according to your directions I gaue one to Alexander Purdom three weeks since, and another about a weeke past. I pray perplexe your self noe more about monsieur Jaques,¹ for the next day after I came to Paris I had of him very honestly what was my due. As for this letter wch the Maior hath written unto Monsieur Mackmarth, I have receaved a hundred franckes, I shall buy what your direction is, as for the placing of the children here, there is noe body will take them under 200 Crownes by the yeare, things are soe much changed here and everything grown soe deare. I have earnestly desired Father Gaull that he would be pleased to take them both to Doway, and what hee will take for them by the yeare, he sayth that hee will write to Father Christi if there be a place for Ffrancis to take him, but not William because hee is not yet fitt for the Schooles. if this fayle, when I come to Amyens I will see if I can gett any good place for them there, att the rates you are able to pay, and will goe thither soe soone as Frankes health and the safenes of the wayes will permitt. I hartily wishe I were there already, and since that things have fallen out noe better, I much repent my last iourney to Paris. I was not altogether to be blamed for when once my coate was stolne, I had noe mind to come away from Bethune. I pray God send us a prosperous iourney that wee may once meet againe, and then I shall not part from you, neither for the boyes, nor any other occasion. Here is talke of peace, but as yet noe certainty of it, and how things will goe, as yet I cannott tell you, only I wilbe my selfe out of towne wch God willing shall be soe soone as possibly I can venture out and soe Committing you to the protection of almighty God I rest Your loving and obedient wife untill death

"BARBARA ROBERTSON."

"Your loving and obedient wife untill death." This was the last message from his wife that William Robertson

¹ Probably James Mouat, a Scottish banker in Paris. (See Appendix III.)

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ever received. She died suddenly a few days after sending this letter, probably about the end of August. Father Gall, writing on 13th September, 1652, from Paris, says :—

“ I wrot to F. Thomeson last post of the happie deathe of Mrs Robertson wyffe to his Nephew I hope he wilbe mynde-full of her soule, & not forgett her children, of whome I haue takin care heere untill I heare frome their fayther yet at Bethune.¹ I caused her be buryed very honorablie in St Stephens Church.”

On the 15th March, 1653, Father Gall writes, from Paris, that Mr William Robertson “ arryued heere three dayes ago frome Bethunes wt his two sonnes wt intention to take iourney hence next weeke for Lyons & thence to Rome.”

The two boys, Francis and William, are mentioned in the *Catalogus Personarum* on 28th May, 1653, as lay students. Probably Father Thomson paid for their education. After a short stay in Rome, Mr Robertson went to Scotland, where it seems probable, from a letter of Father Christie's, that he assisted at the death-bed of the Marquis of Huntly :—

“ Fr. W. Christie (Douay) to Fr. Adam Gordon (Rome)
2. Feb. 1654.

“ Nothing doe occur since my last uorthy of uring, except Wm Robertson uhose ship did sink, and he miraculously escaped in the boat 10 miles from land, urite to me yesterday that the Marquis of Huntly dyed in the Bog Catholik, F. Grant, Mr Lumsden, and ane Irish Preest praesent. 24 houres befor his death uold not heare of any thing saecular or uorldly. caus pray for him. . . .”

The last reference to the surgeon occurs in Father Christie's letter of the 22nd March, 1656 :—

“ Is their any hopes of Robisones sones uhom he commends, their father came from Betun and been heare uith the English Benedictinnes about 6 monthes, bot nou quite the sutain and returned to his old trade. . . .”

¹ Bethune was about this time the headquarters of more than one Scottish regiment. In the autumn of 1655, Father Christie writes : “ Lieutenant Scrimger and their Scotish regiment is out of Betun, and nou uith the French army.” In March 1656, Father Anderson wrote of yet another Scottish unit : “ Our Scots regiment which hes been in Betune so long flitted the last week to some other place, when they marched owt non knew wher they war going.”

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About thirty years later, Francis, who was then "a Surgeon at Campvere . . . went to the Indies and perished in the voyage," leaving two sons. The other brother, William, gave up his religion, became minister at Campvere, and afterwards went to England where he "injoyed a benefice nere Yarmouth." (Andrew Hay to Louis Innes, 19th July, 1683.)

There is one youth whose history, after leaving the College, is unknown, but who deserves to be remembered for his amusing description of the journey from Rome to Dijon. William Hay, or Collison, went to the Scots College in 1656, from Aberdeen, and left on 1st May, 1659, promising to return.¹

Father Christie wrote that "he is ane good youth and hath the Irish tongue," so he was probably a Highlander. He might be a son of that Paul Collison who wore "a hayre shirt and white sheet," but afterwards became a steady Catholic again.

The frank and familiar tone of the letter written by William Collison to his late Rector, Father Gilbert Talbot,² will seem strange to those who do not know that a democratic spirit has always been a characteristic of the Jesuit system of education. One of the most important contributions made by the Jesuits to the reformation of education in Europe was their insistence upon the importance of establishing between master and pupil a mutual feeling of confidence and friendship. They abolished the old bogey of the schoolmaster with the big stick. When Father Andrew Leslie, with his hasty temper, showed himself unfit to rule, owing to his habit of "boasting to the doore" students like poor Patrick Gray, he was soon removed from his post. Collison writes with something of the modern schoolboy spirit. He had been at Rome for three years. There is not much sign in his letter of the "gloomy discipline" and "harsh formalism" which are alleged, by those who do not know the Jesuits, to be some of the objectionable features of their educational system.

Some of the references in the text are unintelligible, because they deal with personal matters to which no clue can be obtained. Collison was known at the College by the nick-

¹ *Rome Register*, p. 115.

² His real name was George Bisset. He was a son of Robert Bisset of Lessendrum, Aberdeenshire. After his appointment to the Rectorship of the Scots College at Rome, Father Christie wrote advising him to use his own name "being soe ancient, one Bisset was Thain or Earl of Fife, this be reason of your office now." (W. Christie, 9th February, 1655.)

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names "Chateau Renard" and the "Fox." His description of how he crossed the Simplon Pass shows that he must have been a youth of sturdy constitution :—

W. Collison (Dijon) to Fr. Talbot (Rome) 10 June 1659.

"MOST REUEREND FATHER,

"If I had not stayed by the uay in comming hier to Diion I had neuer gotten the happines to receaue on of your letters. at Lions ther uas non, yet I uas as yet ther the 30 of may and I ueint to see both Msr Cinamy and Father Boulrier lykuais. I stayed in the charterous of Grenoble 5 days and my greatest expectation uas to receaue that recommendation which Makin uas to send to me anent his brother. I did not forget to speak to the general¹ my constant and hartie freind. I informed him of the College of Paris bot in nullias damnum. he told me neuer the lesse that in desyring the father prieur of paris to tak in any uhos capacitie he doeth not knou, he, althought absolut Superieur, goeth at great leasur knouing him to be a most prudent man, and consequently he is uerie loth to giue him the repetie or to command him any thing uithout hauing a good fondement. your Reuerence hauing both been a captain and a souldier in your companie, knoueth uhou loth a prudent Superieur is to exerce his suprem pouer on a prudent subiect. So the General told me that hee neauer commandet yet in his life that any should be taken in to that Colledge, not knouing ther capacitie, bot I only, Father Talbot his pett. he maid al the fathers laugh til they uar lyk to burst at the brod syde uhen he said that he did not repent that, because uous auez la migne, dit il, d'estre un bon jeune drol, uith such a grauitie and greace that the padres uho uas present at recreation uas neuer so temped to brak silence.

"Your Reuerence uilbe pleased to tel makin that the General said that it uas impossible that his brother had so feu freinds in paris as not to present him to the prieur and aquant him of his capacitie, which being sufficient, a gentilmans child and hauing suffred for the fath, could not be reiected; he asket at me uhou they called him, bot I uas so unfortunated as not to knou uhither it uas Michel² or Alexander

¹ Dom Jean Pégon, General of the Order and Prior of the Grande Chartreuse from 1649 to his death in 1675 (*La Grande Chartreuse*, pp. 138-40, Grenoble, 1882).

² According to the *Douai Diary*, Michael Menzies, aged fourteen, was at the College in 1655. He went to Paris and became a monk of the Order of St Augustine.

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Meinez, which if I knew as yet I could obtain his receipt from Father Jon Jacques here who is a verie material and a naturel man who would make that be done without a host be capable or not capable knowing him to have any relation to me, and if it were possible to me to goe to paris, which is not at all, it would be done nolen volens. yet Mr Makin should make his brother be presented be some bodie to the prier who seeing him capable will receive him infallible, but I fear there most be some deficiency yet all should not be looked to in such a personne. Father I thought to write to your Reuerence from Grenoble but the Chartrouse is near a days journey from the town who is lykely out of my way going to Lion, so that being no post that can come to these terrible deserts, the Father General prayed me to carie some of his letters to Lions and to doe some businesse for him in the town, which veried my pen so that it was not capable to write to your Reuerence till I came to Diion, where I thought to receive some of your letters, but there was none, till two days after there came on, where in I have conceived that the old Rome Diogenes maketh Le diable en quatre. I think not altogether wonder, because your Reuerence is the cause, you make a shadow to the poor soule and will not hold out of the sunne. Gode in heaven forgive you, you see that he is not so fierce in the hills as you.

“I write to your Reuerence from Milan the 13 of may a duche gentelman gave me his parole and hand that he would carie it to the post.

“It cost me two and twentieth days marching betwix Rome and Grenoble, but I pray god no man living get such an euel voyage for marching, continually rain to Lions, three day snow in the mont Saint Plon both under and above, with sleet and hail and even drift which almost had drifted Chateau Renard to the other world, had not been your Reuerence good prayers who conserved the ¹ tod his skin. there was six men lying daid on the top of the hill who had been suffoked in the snow, and fund in the precipices by the Suisses who inhabit them in some places. I asked at them if that was the fashion to burie the dead with them, they desired me to thank gode that I was not the seawent, which I did with all my hart, my verie reins as so yet with urasling out my bodie out amongs the snow; I was forced to rest my self after everie quarter of ours working, there was alway some little force and more courage hopping alway to see Father Talbot before I dayed,

¹ Fox.

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and to play bancrout to the pretie Msr Lesley,¹ uho is the cause that I am come so far out of my uay. I might be this tyme be near the land of kaiks, if he had not shot out his mou and said I I you most goe to Dijon, in al it uil be six scor of ligs out of my uay he sent me, six pistoles euerie tuentie ligs a pistol. So I uil be ouing him nothing and morouer I uold uillingly knou uho learned him to giue men a mikle lang uhissel to carie to a nombre of stinking nunes, al bodie that did see it by the uay thought I uas a pyper, I shal mak him pay that affront if I liue neuer the lesse I uil giue him fair uords til I play him the trik. So I pray your Reuerence to salut him in Chateau Renard his neam in caise he doe not ureat to him for the present.

“ I camp hier uith Messieurs Nicais uho uil not let me goe from hence for 8 or 10 days, making me goe uisit freinds hier. your Reuerence is in uerie great estime hier be al that has hard tel of you, I haue giuen the great Reliquier, which Father Oliua gaue me, to Madammoiselle Nicaise in your Reuerence neame. I told her that you had al the difficultie in the uorld to presum to send her such a present til I promised to tak al the inconuenience of that boldnesse on me. Shee thinks realie that you haue send her a thresour and ther is nothing hier at table bot drinking to Father Talbot his good halth. I intrait your Reuerence to ureat diuers tymes to Msr the Channoine, and to entertain your self uith him by letteres. you can not beliuie uhou much you ar respected hier ; so that if I could complement as ueil as your cousin, I uold pray you to obey my letter and thank this good freinds for so many fauors they haue offred to me ; I haue giuen your crosses a furia amongs them knouing that I can not bring any home to the countray. no mor for the present bot only this, that I shal obey your Reuerence in al you haue commanded me, Father Gordon, Mad: bagnie, comming bak, sine reditu, and al other. In recompence of so manie courtecis and seruices you haue receaued from my uirisheep, I hoip you uil remember my seruice to al freinds bot especialy to your self, to the drapping Oliue,² the braue prety, and the rest quorum nomina non scripta sunt in libro hoc.

“ Your Reuerence most humble seruen and debteur G. C.”

¹ Mr William Leslie, the Agent. A note in Macfarlane's *Genealogical Collections* states that he was “ famous for his courteous and obliging Carriage ” (Vol. II, p. 56).

² John Paul Oliva was elected permanent Vicar-General of the Jesuit Order in 1661 ; he became General after the death of Father Goswin Nickel, in 1664.

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"[*Postscript*].—Father I am to goe from hence to baal. I brought tuo of the three peaces your Reuerence did giue me to this toun and the general of the Carthu. did offer me al I had need of, setting doun a great baggue of mony befor me to tak that I had need yet I uas ouer modest seing that gode had preserued me and my mony. he is on of the most hartie men that euer I did see. your Reuerence and he uold mak a braue sauce, tuo good harty rombling blaid. betuix Rome and Dijon cost me 29 days ualking, hauing good uay I uold think nothing to goe to Paris from Rome in a moneth; they al admire hier to see me so lustie after such a polleule. I pray your Reuerence to thank Msr the Channoine and al the familie. after 15 days staying hier he has charged me uith mony and his brother uith clothes so that I can not express the fauors I haue receaued. for the six pistoles I ougt them to Msr Lesley.

"I dourst lay my head that this letter uil goe in his pockette onread it is so long and such stouffe as Father Macbrek his useth to be.

"Father the uerie day that I cam in to Dijon I lost the inkhorn of your penner, I uou I had reather lost a croun, extrema gaudia luctus occupat."¹

William Collison never went back to Rome. He wrote from London to Father Talbot, 16th March, 1665, thanking him for his "unspeakable kindness," but complaining that he got no reply to his letters; "for as I am a Christian, I never had a scrape of pen from you since I was at Dijon." He was "tutoring a yong gentleman," and would have returned to Rome "long ere now if Diogenes stoical severitie had not been formidable unto me." He sends his services to Mr Leslie and others. The "drapping Olive" being now General of the Order, he concludes: "I dar not presume to mention the R. F. General my noble friend."

¹ Proverbs xiv. 13.

CHAPTER VI

THE SCOTS COLLEGES ABROAD—MADRID

Why the Scots College, Madrid, proved to be of little use to Scotland—The misgovernment of Father Hugh Semple—Severe criticism by Father John Seton—Father Adam Gordon; his service in the Douglas Regiment. He is sent, in 1653, to reform the College at Madrid—"Blakmen" and "Freemen"—Strathbogie and Spain—Father Adam Gordon leaves for Scotland, to the relief of the "Blakmen"—A "Lady Marques" in the seminary—Vigorous action by Father Grant. Father Adam Gordon arrives in the "land of caikes"—After ten years on the mission he returns to Douai—Still the same Strathbogie spirit—His death in 1667.

THE Scots College at Madrid was founded in 1627 by Colonel William Semple, an illegitimate son of the third Lord Semple,¹ and was opened in 1633, the year of the founder's death. "Owing to a variety of causes," wrote Bellesheim,² "the seminary of Madrid, which was usually administered by Spanish Jesuits, was of but little benefit to the Scotch mission for many years after its foundation."

The Deed of Foundation, of which a legally certified copy is at Blairs, declares that the object of the College was to provide Scottish Secular priests for Scotland. Such was no doubt the intention of the founder; what he did in effect was to provide a home and an occupation for his nephew, Father Hugh Semple, S.J., who was Rector till he died in 1654. During the twenty-two years of his office only one priest was sent to Scotland.³ Although the College was governed by Scottish Jesuits for nearly twenty-five years after Father Semple's death, it was apparently nearly always controlled by Spaniards, and in 1668 the Spanish Jesuits took official charge. After the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain, the College was removed to Valladolid, in

¹ *Estimate of the Scottish Nobility during the Reign of James VI*, p. 60, Grampian Club, 1873.

² *Bellesheim*, IV, p. 58.

³ Thomas Johnston, of whom the Madrid Register states: "Presbyter factus, versus patriam 22 Nov. 1649 rediit." He left no traces behind him in Scotland, if he ever went there. In 1655 he became a monk at Ratisbon. (*Cf. supra*, p. 151.)

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1769, and placed under the rule of Scottish Secular clergy.¹

Ample materials for a history of the Scottish seminary at Madrid during the first hundred years of its existence might be found in the Archives at Valladolid, but the record would be more interesting to Spain than to Scotland. The letters at Blairs do indeed show that the Scottish Jesuits, in the middle of the seventeenth century, made a strong effort to reorganise the College on national lines. But the Spaniards were too strong. They had money and influence; the Scots had neither. And Madrid was a most unsuitable place for a Scottish seminary. It was too far away from Scotland. The climate did not suit Scottish youths. Father Christie wanted the place to be closed, and the few Scots who were there sent to Rome:—

Fr. Christie (Paris) to Fr. Andrew Leslie (Rome) Dec. 17. 1649.

“If that seminary at Madrit be disapat it uare fitt you hade those remanent. the defect their is yat good F. Hugo thoght himself too uise in al thinges and uold neuer follou counsail. I uish that house uare sold and adioined to

¹ Four properties are traceable as belonging to, and having been possessed by, the Scots College during its residence in Madrid:—

1. The houses of Jacometrezo, situated in the street of that name, and forming the original and principal foundation. This property had been bought by Philip II, in 1591, for 5000 ducats, and was made over to Colonel Semple on 16th December, 1613, in part payment of long overdue salaries and other claims. It was the will of the founder that the part of the buildings not occupied as a College should be let, and the rents serve to increase the College revenue. For several years after the foundation, it was unoccupied by the College. In 1633, entries are found of seven students living in “posadas,” and as late as 1642 Scots students at Madrid were being maintained and paid for in the Colegio Imperial.

2. Two houses in the Calle Concepcion Geronime. They were bought in 1643 and finally sold in 1662.

3. A country house between Santa Barbara and La Fuente Castellana was bought in 1652 by Padre Hugo Semple. Although the disposal cannot be traced, this property must have been sold, as it was not in the possession of the College when translated to Valladolid.

4. A property in the vicinity of Madrid, known as the Hacienda de Pinto, acquired about 1745. In 1771, Bishop Geddes, then Rector, applied for and obtained the Royal Patron's permission to sell the property.

Official Report of the Apostolic Visitation of the Royal Scots College, Valladolid, May, 1925. The original property in the Calle de Jacometrezo remained in the possession of the College at Valladolid until 1917, when it was sold on account of the construction of the Gran Via in Madrid, the property falling within the scheme of extension. After the College was removed to Valladolid, the property in Madrid was leased.

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Douay . . . nigher the countrey, conueniency of the place, and studyes, this aduise uith Father Vicare Gnall uho may help much."

After twenty years in Spain, Father Hugh Semple had ceased to take much interest in the affairs of Scotland, or in the welfare of the College where he held the two posts of Rector and Procurator. He was absorbed in his favourite study of mathematics, and had published several books on that subject. Baillie, the learned Principal of Glasgow University, had heard of his fame as a mathematician, and wrote to Holland, asking for a copy of his works.¹

While Father Hugh was contemplating the heavens, the government and finances of his College were neglected. Some report of this state of affairs having reached the ear of the General of the Society in Rome, he sent, from Scotland, Father John Seton, the friend of Montrose, to take over the duties of Procurator. Shortly after arriving at Madrid, Father Seton wrote several letters to Father Adam Gordon, who was then Rector at Rome :—

Fr. John Seton to Fr. Adam Gordon. 27th Oct. 1653.

"These are to renew our olde acquaintance, which I feare for want of use and communication this long whyll is so inueterate and stayed that I ame almost worne out of your memory, but truely your R. hes bene, and is euer still very fixe in myne, although I haue not hade very good occasion to declare so much whilst I remained on the other syde of the great watter ; but being returned to this syde of it againe aboue a yeare agoe, I thought presently then to begine to keep correspondence with your R., yet soone therafter departing out of this toune to Andalouzia, and haueing by misfortune in my comeing backe hither, brocken my legg, I was bedfast for many months and so impedit for the most part euer since. . . ."

He goes on at great length to explain his reasons for not writing to warn Father Hugh of his arrival :—

" . . as well for the rare and longsome intercourse of letters betwixt Scotland and Rome, whole yeares passing that not one scrape of pen is receaued from thence, as for the Imminent breach of peace betwixt the Inglishe and Hollanders, whereby all passage by sea was to be stopped up so that if I hade not come presently away I could not haue departed at all. . . ."

¹ Baillie, *Letters and Journals*, III, p. 390.

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In this letter Father Seton hints that his Superior did not relish the arrival of an investigator with commission to inquire into the finances of the College. In the March of the following year he wrote, giving more explicit details of the state of affairs. This letter is badly damaged, and parts have been lost :—

“ My being here will auaille litle for the redresse of many grytt abuses, which all this whyll that F. Hugh hes hade care of these affaires, hes bene continowed both by omission and commission to the grytt hinderance of the progresse of this pyous worke, small or no benefitt to the mission, scandall of all those of the nation who wishes well unto bothe, and many complaints, and obloquyes of many the gravest fathers in this province. And that cheifly which hes bene, and still is most prejudiciall in this bussines is F. Hugh, his profuse, prodigall, and irreligious spending of much moneyes in toyes, triffls and unnecessare things [instead of] haueing helped the mission or the Seminary of Douay, although two of my Lord Semples sones hes bene sustained therein these many years without — — — ”

Father John Seton, one of the ablest of the Scottish Jesuits at this time, seems to have been a man well fitted to put some sort of order into the seminary at Madrid. He wrote once more to Father Adam Gordon, on the 28th March, repeating the story of his troubles with his Superior, who, he says, takes little interest in anything except “ the printing of his books.”¹ But that must have been one of the last letters Father Seton was ever to write :—

Fr. James Anderson (Douay) to Fr. Adam Gordon (Rome)
June 23. 1654.

“ Ye wil haue harde ere now that F. Seaton is dead in Madrid with a good commendation, he dyed of ane Tubardillos seruing ane other Fr. of the College.”²

Father Christie, writing on the same day, says :—

“ I hade a letter from F. Heu Semple that Fr. Jhon Seaton is dead of ane tabordiller (assisting one of our Fathers) to the regrate of many, if it hade pleased God to spare his life his intention uas to doe good to the mission, fiat voluntas Dei.”

¹ Oliver says that “ at his death he was engaged in preparing *Dictionarium Mathematicum*.” He had already published a treatise in twelve books, *De Mathematicis Disciplinis*, at Antwerp, in 1635; and *Experientia Mathematica*, at Madrid, in 1642. (*Collections*, p. 37.)

² Tabardillo : a spotted fever, probably scarlet fever.

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The situation in Madrid was simplified a few months later by the unexpected death of Father Hugh Semple :—

“Fr. Christie (Douay) to Fr. Gordon (Rome) 8th Oct. 1654.

“This morning wee understand be F. Androu Junius letteres of F. Heues death ye 19 of September & that he hath left his mathematical books, instruments and some other things of great price to the imperial college. . . . F. Heu hade noe reason to leaue any thing to that Imperial College, he paying soe deare pensions for himselue and ane brother uith him, he should rather haue bestowed upon our FF. and Mission. God forgiue him. Since Colonel Semples death fundator their greate good could haue been done, which may be as yet if the busines be ueale handled.”

For many years the Spanish Jesuits had been watching for an opportunity to obtain control of the Scottish seminary. The sudden removal of the Rector and Procurator within six months must have seemed a providential misfortune. The property was loaded with debts, probably incurred by Father Hugh, and it could only be a matter of time for it to fall like a ripe fruit into Spanish hands. This, indeed, is what eventually happened ; but first the Scots were to make a strong effort for independence, and the hero of the occasion was Father Adam Gordon. His arrival at Madrid provided the stately ecclesiastics of Spain with a new experience, and probably their recorded indignation lies hidden in the archives of some Spanish Jesuit College in that city.

Adam Gordon came from Cults, a small village near Gartly, in the district of Strathbogie. He had been a soldier in Flanders, where he had fought against and sworn at the Spaniards.¹ No one can read his letters from Madrid (there are seventeen of them) without wanting to know something more about his history. The records are not very helpful. He was at Douai from 1627 to 1631. Then he was at Rome in 1635, Abbé Macpherson says, “from I know not what Diocese.”

A note in the Douai Diary mentions that he went to Scotland in April, 1631, then became a soldier in France, and was again received at Douai in November of the same year. There may be some mistake in the dates, as he could hardly

¹ Gordon, of Straloch, says that the Scots who inhabit the district of Strathbogie are “vigorous, active, and industrious, and when they give their attention to the art of war and the discipline of camps, they make excellent soldiers” (W. Macfarlane, *Geographical Collections*, S.H.S., II, p. 276).

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have had time to be much of a soldier between April and November, 1631. There is no doubt about the soldiering; the style of his letters bears witness to that, and besides there is another witness, a Scotsman named Sanderson, who had a son at the Scots College, Rome, and who wrote to Father Adam when he was Rector there in 1653 :—

“Yr R. doeth me very muche honour to remember me after soe long a tyme for it is at least 15 or 16 yeares since I had the honour to sie you in my Lord Douglas regiment.”

(George Sanderson to Fr. A. Gordon. 3rd. March 1653.)

According to the Register of the Scots College, Rome, Adam Gordon left in 1636, fifteen or sixteen years before 1653. It must therefore have been in 1636 or 1637 that he joined the Douglas regiment, and he was probably fighting with that unit in 1638, when Thomas Chambers wrote that the “regiment hes done meruiely.”¹ From various references in the correspondence at Blairs College, it is evident that Father Adam Gordon came from Strathbogie. A letter written to him by Father Spreul, from Paris, 2nd August 1652, says :—

“The Marquise of Huntly your cheife, tho he haue composed, yett it be much feared that by Arguyles politick designes he wilbe if not undonne, at least kept uery lowe.”

Father James Anderson, the Procurator at Douai, wrote to him in March, 1653, when he was Rector of the Roman College, begging him not to think of resigning his office :—

“Your Strathbogy courage will neuer permitt that ye haue that blot to giue ouer befor the end; God fobid that any difficultyes should mak you think to renonce befor the ordinary tym. . . .”

That he came from the Huntly district of Aberdeenshire is further clear from a curious paragraph in a letter written by Father Christie on 29th November, 1653 :—

“. . . tak head to al letters and read them which be writen be your youthes and signed be you, for one of them urite to Paris amongst other things that you said you uare come directly of ye hous of Huntly, this good Fr. Brun urite to one, adding out of his hypocondriak and not charitable fashion, O uhat laughing uas at Paris. Consider the man, and keep this to yourself. It uare good he uare changed.”

¹ Compare *supra*, p. 127.

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The letters of Father Adam Gordon show that soldiering in France and Flanders, followed by long training in the Jesuit Order, had not affected his original Scottish temperament, or diminished in the slightest degree the vigour of his affection for his own corner of Scotland. In many ways he resembled Father James Anderson, his great friend and fellow Strathbogie man, the admirer of the Maubeuge "frogges"; but Father Gordon had a turn for irony rather than humour, which makes his letters more attractive at the present day than they perhaps were to his correspondents. After completing his term of office as Rector of the Scots College, Rome, Father Gordon was selected for an enterprise which he found extremely uncongenial, as he did not hesitate to declare in his Strathbogie language. He left Rome for Madrid at the end of 1654, or the beginning of 1655, with instructions from the Father General to restore some sort of order to the affairs of the College :—

" . . . to uieu, try, and intromet uith al thinges their F. Semple hade." (Fr. Christie, 9th Feb. 1655.)

The necessity for some such measure had long been obvious to Father Christie, who wrote on the 5th April to the new Rector at Rome, wishing Father Gordon :—

" . . . ane happy uoiage, and good succes in these soe long neglected affaires, for uich thir yeares past be uord and urite I used al meanes to redres. F. Gnall did ueale to send F. Adam uith pouer to entromet uith al and taking possession facilitat al to F. Fed. Maxuel uho is absolute expedient to reside their, and the other to the mission uhair their be greate nead of some actiue. I suspect they shal haue adoe both in Madrite to saue al out of those harpyes hands."

While Father Gordon was on his way to Madrid, in March 1655, in company with a Scottish lay-brother, he wrote to the Rector of the Roman College :—

" The further I goe upon my giornaye I doe euer think more upon your R., so whereuer I ripose I doe lett you learne of my good health . . . the fronters ar full of sogers and the poste is in dyverse places yit I hope in the mercye of God to arryue happilye. Our B. Seton is a braw youth and much esteemed."

On arriving in Madrid, he wrote at first rather favourably

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about the state of affairs in the College, where, he says (1st April), he found :—

“ . . . aboue four thousands crounes worth of books and other things of ours, they denye to haue recaued any letters from our F. so speak wt the Secretarie and intreat him to writt that we recouer our owen. as also I pray you to deal wt the Assistant that I may haue B. Blakhal, who is in the College of Soria in Castiglia Vecchia for my compaignion, he hath been 6 years procureur of the College in Onjedo. . . . Sinclar is in his nouitiat, they lagh at your Roman oath heer, bot speak nothing of this. Your R. may tell to the F. General that if he grant me the Brother within ane year I shall repayre much of things lossed and haue the College in estait to manteane a prettye number of youths, for uithout him I can not doe so much, seing this countraymen must be serued and not serue. I reteen F. Youngson¹ untill the nixt year who is ane sweet bot scrupulos man. . . .”

If Father Gordon's letter to Rome, dated 17th April, 1655, had been the only one to survive, it would have given posterity an erroneous idea of his opinion concerning the Spanish Jesuits. His sarcasm is so elaborate that it can only be recognised when a comparison of this letter is made with his other correspondence on the same subject. It is possible, however, that when he wrote the letter he had some notion that its contents might be seen by some of the Spanish Fathers. He begins it with a complaint that he had received no news from Rome :—

“ This is not my first, nor as I hope shall not be my last from hence, bot doe much admeer that I haue neuer recaued on letter from no man since I depairted from thence. beleue dear father I am euer the old man, trew and kynd, yea I haue recaued the Sacrament of Confirmation since my heer coming, you can not beleue what it is to haue experience. all our affairs doe relye upon ane letter of our F. Generals, who if he writt only confirming what F. Mutio did ordeene, and F. Heu did approue, I will gain my cause which will importe us aboue 6000 crounes at least. I haue shouen them F. Mutio his order wherin he aplies all F. Heus librarrye to the Seminary, treuth is they war somewhat astonished, bot I hope they shall

¹ Andrew Youngson, or Junius, taught philosophy at Marischal College, Aberdeen, in 1645 and 1646. He entered the Jesuit Order at Madrid in 1647.

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admeer more if reason be doone to me ther, if not I will imitate themselfe and apeall heer to whom most willinglye will doe me justice. I am in ane of the strangest countrayes that euer you haue seen, wher al vertues does flourish especiall ye amongst us, exact osseuance and brotherlye charitie, strangers exalted and holden in great esteeme, yea our Scotchmen better loued then in France amongst your Monsieurs. I wold weerye me selfe if I wold prosecute ther praise, nothing is doone wtout the ballance of justice which ponderats all, especially amongst ours wher the trew spirit of the Company does flourish, you will not see any heer go visit woemen and spend ane whole efter dinner clattering wt ther penytents as you doe ther at Rome and in Italye, nor haue ther chambers full of wyne and other things to eat, nor will you [find] them braking the silence from morning to iuning much lesse clattering to midnight in ane other mans chamber. I should thank God to haue send me heer, bot I am sorye that F. Maxuels coming will priuat me shortlye of my consolation. What will you haue I must tak in patience. F. Junius hath doone very weell how long he hath been in this office. I wish Father Fredrick doe no worse. if by your R. his moyen he can haue B. Blakhall all will goe weell otherwayes we will be lossers for all I can learne heer by those who knowes him. I haue not by me actuallye 4 crounes and I am awing actuallye 2000 and 600. I think one who had put himselfe of set purpose to destroye a busines wold not haue doone more then F. Heu."

His next letter, written a few days later, on 24th April, reveals more clearly that the Strathbogie temperament did not find itself at home among the Spanish Jesuits. It is a long complaint of the way he has been treated :—

"For trewlye and as I am ane Christian I could neuer haue persuaded me selfe that ther had been such dealling amongst ours, as I experience heer daylye. Our F. Generals orders ar not so much esteemed heer as the Rectors, so if he doe not writt mor efficaciouslye wee will be the lossers, for notwithstanding his expresse orders, the Rector hath remitted all to the prouincial congregation wher they offer that I shall enter if I please to plead my cause, I did answere to the prouincial himselfe that I did not esteeme so litle the Generals orders that I wold directlye or indirectlye put ane cause decyded by his paternitye under ane other tribunal, bot that his R. might doe what he esteemed good. Now since they see that I ame constant in seeking what belongs to us, they ar procuring to

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send me away, by reason some good freend ther hath written that I ame ane frenchman, that is my peccadilio originale, bot it may be they worke not ther poynt in haiste if the General and freends ther doe ther pairt, as they be obliged since they send me against my will. Therfor acquante the General, Assistant and all wt ther deallings as I doe at lenth, if you loue me. They wold haue no man heer bot one wold permitt himselfe to be led by the nose and lyue efter ther fashion which is no wayes conforme to the institute of the Societie. Therefore all strangers ar haitted lyke verie doges amongst them. F. Maxuell will be my successor bot F. Junius is the more feat man be a 2000 degrees, if he had ended his studies, for he is most capable and verie zealous."

On 7th July he writes that Brother Blakhal has arrived:—

"I haue B. Blakhall wt me, he is a good religious man bot somthing old, yit we shall playe our pairt indifferentlye weell. I shall neuer quytte my right in anye poynte. You could not beleue what people I haue to deal with but indeed thay gaitte such meelting as Mortimer gaue his mother."¹

His dislike of the Spaniards is curiously expressed in the following letter, sent on 16th July, 1655, by the hands of an English gentleman:—

"All my persecution heer is setled because I am silent untill I recaieue letters from our General concerning our bookes and instruments which I will mak be restored otherwayes I will losse more then I can saye. Our blakmen heer ar the strangest people that euer any man dealled with, and ar oppenly enimyes to strangers. If they did misleake me onlye it wold truble me, bot all those who ar heer doe be in this same category wt me, yit I attend to me selfe and does not caire a pinn for them. they thoght to haue gayned some 300 ducats of me when I was newlye arryued bot I maid them see the contrair showing them that they wer resting me no lesse yea much more, which did truble them. . . ."

After more discussions about the money due, he adds:—

"The English nauye comanded by Blak does terrifye all this countrey it is thoght he expects the flott which comes from the Indes."²

¹ "Mell sc. to thrash severely." James Kelly gives this proverb in his collection of *Scottish Proverbs*, p. 140, London, 1818. The origin of the simile is unknown.

² In June, 1655, Cromwell had sent definite orders to Blake that he was to endeavour to intercept the Spanish fleet arriving from the West Indies (David Hanny, *Admiral Blake*, p. 139, London, 1886).

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He continues in his next letter to give news about the war between the Spaniards (blakmen) and the English (freemen), as he calls them :—

“ July 22. 1655. Heer things goe verye badlye wt the blakmen who does losse euerye daye for they can doe nothing against the freemen. Blak is said to beseege by sea Aroma and the Tareles be land, it stands upon the coast of Africa and does belonge to our blakmen. I am euer suffering heer, bot I am not alonne, for all strangers ar haitted mightilye, yit we doe our owne affairs the best way we can. . . .”

In spite of all his complaints, Father Gordon seems to have got his own “ Strathbogie ” way as far as money matters were concerned :—

“ July 22nd. 1655. Things doe goe verye weell wt me touching the affairs of the College for I hope within two dayes to redeem a censo which maid us paye 300 crounes yearlye, and I haue payed some 700 crounes of debts alreddye. . . . I haue written to our F. General the difficulty we haue heer, for not manteaning youths, which is not to be slighted. ther is no remedye bot one which both I and the Inglish father doe insinuat, which is to call some of our nation and some Inglish and mak one College of both for some tyme untill we can liue separat, bot as I doe signifye to the General it is almost impossible they will agree. . . . The Queens Confessor desyres mightilye we should unitte ourselves for a tyme by reason he is affrayed we losse all our rents, which wold be a great pitye. . . .”¹

“ Heer our blakmen are liklye to losse yea ther verye briches. Blak does expect the flott bot I hope in God he shall be decaiued, if he catch it this kingdome is quytte undoone . . . my brother conjures me to come home, and heer I suffer my pairt, but if I weep they doe not laffe. Yea my Gouvernor sayed he wished God he had neuer seen me, for he sayes I am too resolute and constant because I mantean my right. . . .”

“ 7 Oct. 1655. You cannot beleeeue what a dogish lyfe I haue heer euer fighting for our owen bot no moeyen to haue what is ours. If our F. General doe not command the Rector

¹ Foley says that “ there was a strong feeling on the part of the Spanish Jesuits against the English College of St George, Madrid, which . . . appears to have passed to them (about 1655 or 1660), probably by some arrangement and order from Father General ” (*Records*, VII, p. lvi).

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heer to restore all we shall haue nothing for they doe no more esteeme his orders heer then a rush, bot if he will permitt me haue my recourse to the Nuntius I shall dresse them as they meritte. . . . I wold neuer haue beleueed they had been such as I find them, trewlye I am more weeryed in 6 months tyme then euer I could be for my whol lyfe any other wher . . . the Kings Eleemosynary did call upon me the other daye, and told me verye bitterlye that if I did not bring youths to set up the College he wold cause the King tak all our rents, so I am mightilye troubled. . . . God helpe me and releuee me wt all haist.

"Blak hath gotten some 16 ships more then he had before. things doe goe not weell heer so I rest praying you to doe what lyes in your power to free me of this blakmen if you can. . . ."

Father Gordon obtained permission to return to Scotland in November, but was not able to leave till after February of the following year. He wrote on the 2nd November that he :—

". . . wold not staye in the highland for all the gold they can comand . . . doe not put in question what way I goe, Paris must be seene wher honest F. Makbrek does conjure me to come, the loulanders ar the only men for me. . . ."

After the departure of Father Gordon, which must have been a great relief to the "blakmen," Father Frederick Maxwell,¹ his successor, proved wholly unable to cope with the difficult situation. He yielded to all the demands made by the Spanish Jesuits. Father Christie says that he was very badly treated :—

"Douay 31st. March 1659. I understand F. Maxuel uas arreastet be our FF. in Madrit in F. Grants absence, and of simplicitye or threatnings did quite ane considerable summe of monyes not due to them, soe I hope F. General being rightlye informed uil anul such doings to ye praeiudice of that hous, and mission ; it uare expedient F. Maxuel communicat al affaires uith F. Grant uho seemes more audacious, and fitt to deale uith such, as is thoght be diuers."

On arriving at Madrid the new Rector wrote, on 31st March, a long letter to Rome, explaining that he had gone

¹ Father Frederick Maxwell, son of Lord Herries, educated at Douai 1629-32. The Madrid Register says that he died there "in odore sanctitatis," 1659.

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to Spain out of obedience and contrary to his own will, as he feels unfit for the task. Nothing is yet settled about the books and mathematical instruments left by Father Hugh Semple. A year later Father Macbrek sends on a letter received at Paris from the Rector at Madrid, wherein it is stated that the Spaniards want to buy the College :—

“Fr. Macbrek (Paris) to Fr. Talbot (Rome) 20th April 1657.

“The matter is that one of the Kings Counsellors D. Antonio de Contreas desyres to bay itt, for to be a monastery of Nunnes, wherof he hes care, and hes spoaken theranent to the Prouinciall, Consultares of the Prouince, and to Fr. Maxuel. The Prouincial is no much affectet to strangers, nor the Consoulters, and fauirs much that D. Antonio, and att his petition dois inclyne to sell itt to the forsaid Nunnes. But F. Maxuel resist to all & hoc bonum, & thinks nouayes conuenient. for the followiing reasons. 1. Becaus itt is expressly against the testament of the Fundator. 2. Itt can nott be done uithout the Popes & General licence. 3. According to the Canons Churchs good can not be sold uithout euident proof of greather profit & conueniency. 4. The Nunnes are not able to giue us the pryce that our hous and church are worth, bott thinks by a powerfull hand to bay itt, att the pryce that they think good, which wil be a great losse for us. 5. They can not giue us in hand any considerable quantity of money naether can there be any security giuen us in so troublsome tymes aequivalent to the possession of our hous. 6. Naither doe they giue us licence, nor promis, to geat us licence for to transport our Seminary to some other part in or withoutt Spaine, but to baye summe houses in Madrid nearer the Imperial College, which none wil sell us bott upon ane high pryce, so that we shal sell our house at a low pryce & baye others at ane high rate, which is double damage to the Seminary.”

Father Maxwell was not such a strong man as his predecessor, and seems to have been easily overreached in business matters by his Spanish brethren. On 10th April, 1658 he writes that part of the College was occupied by a :—

“Lady Marques, who desyres to buy itt only nott the church nor the sacristy nor another roome neare to the sacristy. this she leaves for the use of our Seminary, and intends to buy ane house yt lyes hard by from the which ane easy passage may be made to the Church, for the habitation of our students and fathers.”

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He gives a number of reasons why this plan should be adopted rather than sell to the Nuns, and asks the Father General to arrange that the business should be entrusted to "three persons heire to witt ; our F. Prouincial, the Queens confessor and F. Franciscus de Paresa and under secrett."

In May, 1659, Father Maxwell died, and was succeeded by Father William Grant, who began to deal vigorously with the "lady Marques," who had evidently extracted from Father Maxwell some sort of lease, and had taken possession of the College. The following copy of a letter in Father Macbrek's writing, shows how the Rector proposed to deal with this astonishing situation :—

"This Father Grant writs to me in his last letter of the 3 of Jully. I haue had, and hes yet many debaits & difficulties with the Lady that occupys our house, First concerning hous roome in our house & college, for our schollers when they come ; Bot shee wil not grant to giue us any ; against all raison ; for she might verie wel spaire more then wold suffice us. Nixt she is resting us more then two years deuties, yett wil not comme to count & recning & almost payes us nothing ; so that I see no other thing bot that of necessitie I most be hard with hir in law. Shee pryds herself of hir brother in law, the Cardinal Homo Dei, who hes a great hand with our General, & all our Societie, to whom I am informed she hes wretten that she be not disspossed of our house ; and that the seminarie be erect as in F. Semple his tyme, in some house hyred in the toun. This can not be without our great hurt. First being against the Foundatour expresse wil & fondation. Nixt I wil not find a house in toun (for I have tryed it) dow of 5000 ryals, & the third part of that summe wold dow our busines in our house, with many eases which we could have ther, which we wil not find in any part of the toun. Lastlay what troubil it wil be in summer with intolerabil heath, and in winter with infinit dubs, to come to our college. . . .

"I have told hir sins hir taks are expired, I wil not giaue hir now taks, and if she condescend not to giue us house roome, I wil disposses hir be law, which wil be easie to dow, and absolutly necessair . . . sins nethair in justice doue shee pay us hir house mails & wil not stand to the conditions of the taks mead by hir housman ; nor wil she grant to paie us bot as she plaieses, I have consulted lawiours upon the busines, who tels me ther is nothing more easie to be donne then to

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disposes hir, tho she neuer so pourfoul; and that I haue a chearge of consciens to suffer any woman to posses our house that giueth not a chancioner for the payment. . . .”

Father Adam Gordon wrote from Paris on 21st March, 1656, that he was about to leave for England via “Calis,” under the *alias* of Laurence Meldrum. He continues to abuse the Spaniards:—

“In Spaine ther is no forme of religiositye amongst ours, the most proud, sensles, and invyous people that this day breaths, enimye to all strangers. I hope they shall remember upon me as long as they liue. . . .”

He left Paris on 24th March, “in company of the French Ambassador to London,” a proceeding which Father Christie condemned as imprudent, because likely to make him “knouen to hereticks uho uil aduertise our ministers in Scotland.”

However, he arrived safely, and wrote, on 8th May, a curious letter:—

“I am in the land of cayks wher all miseryes doe sheeme to me mirth and gioyfulnes, the new religion doe floorish mightilye and the old and trew religion doth increse. Doe not beleuee all that comes writen concerning our new sogers [the Secular priests], ther Aduocat Mr Leslye doe use the figure pergole, if he did tell you that they ar become of the congregation de propagandis filiis¹ he should not say amisse, tempus plura docebit. There best freends doe goe to the Church [Presbyterian] which noe man of those who does frequent our freends heer doe. Dear sir remember old acquaintance and send me some little thing when you think tyme. Your Brother does lagh at ours heer so if you wold mak ane assignation to Mr Gall or any other in virtu of that which you maid when you wer free we might doe somewhat as yit, so doe not faill to think upon this. Beleeue me dear Sir I find meself more content then when I was in the

¹ The reference is to James Crichton, of Carco, in Ayrshire (*Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, Vol. X, p. 464). He was one of the Secular priests who went to Scotland under the Prefect, Mr Ballantyne, about 1653. He apostatised, and married. Paul Macpherson says that Mr Ballantyne, on his return from London, “called on Mr Crichton, and with the grace of God made him enter into himself and become extremely penitent. He wrote two full recantations, one of which he sent to the Presbytery; the other he got dispersed among the Catholics. Soon thereafter he fell sick, and in a very edifying manner departed this life towards the end of June in that same year, 1660” (MS. Catalogue).

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Metropolitan of Spain, curage come to benduphye¹ you will not lack caikes and aill. . . .”

Father Adam Gordon remained in Scotland until the spring of 1665, when he returned to Douai, and became Rector after the death of old Father Christie. His letters at this date, of which only a few have survived, show that he was still the same, still with his mind fixed on Scotland, and hoping to return. “I haue a mynd for the mission,” he writes in August, 1665, “for heer I desyre nowayes to staye.”

In November he complains that he is :—

“V. Rector, Minister, and Procurator. . . . I wish to God I wer freed of all charge whatsoever, my onely delight is the mission.”

In 1667 Douai was besieged by the French, and an attempt was made to force the priests and seminarists to take part in defending the town. Father Gordon offered vigorous and successful resistance to this illegality :—

“Fr. Gordon (Douay) to Fr. Talbot (Rome). 9. Nov. 1667.

“I may say ther was no man within Douay that did show themselfe more generous than I, and yit I can not obtean the confirmation of my priueleges. I wold not fight nor let the English youths fight, altho both by the Gouvernor and Magistrat I was expreslye commanded to marche out upon the head of 80 trimme gentilmen, yea about two a clok at night a Capitain wt his company wold haue forced me to go to defend the contrescarp and commanded his sogers to fyre upon me. I was as reddye to giue fyre upon him as he was to fyre upon me, which maid my gentilman retae without more trubling me or any of them who was with me.”

Father Gordon was destined never to enjoy again “caikes and aill” in his dear Strathbogie :—

“Fr. Gilbert English (Douay) to Fr. Talbot (Rome)
April 9. 1668.

“On the 8 of April good kynd F. Gordon did leaue us to enioy a better lyfe, it was the first winter he had passed heir, but euer mightilie incommode with catarrhes & troublesome defluxions, wch he gained cheiflie in comeing from Scotland in the mids of a cold and stormie winter to Douay,

¹ Benduphye. A similar form occurs in *Geographical Collections relating to Scotland*, S.H.S., Vol. I, p. 12, 1906. “Bennochie alias Benduphigh.” Benachie is a well-known hill in Aberdeenshire.

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and since that could neuer surmonte, and now lastlie, on the first feast of Easter surprysed with a smal and lent feure, accompanied with ane asmaticque oppression, nature in a short tyme was so abated, & utterlie prostrate, that the good Father was quicklie carried away, with a general regret of all, both at home and abroad. . . .”

His epitaph would be well written with the concluding words of the short note attached to his name in the *Douai Diary*:—

“ . . . a truly good man, and a great lover of his country.”¹

¹ Vir valde bonus patriæque suæ amantissimus (*Scots Colleges*, p. 23).

CHAPTER VII

THE SECULAR CLERGY: MR WILLIAM BALLANTYNE

The first Prefect Apostolic—Reorganisation of the Secular clergy—Ineffective policy of Propaganda in dealing with Scotland—The mistake made at the Reformation—Absence of Episcopal authority disastrous to the Scottish Church—Government by the Nuncio at Paris—Why the Counter-Reformation failed in Scotland—The mistaken policy of outward submission to the Kirk—Mr Ballantyne a prisoner in London—The story of his adventure and release—His return to Scotland, and death at Elgin.

THE first authoritative figure among the Secular clergy of Scotland, after the Reformation, is that of William Ballantyne,¹ appointed Prefect Apostolic of the mission in 1653, who, according to the Abbé Macpherson:—

“ . . . was born at Douglas, in Lanarkshire . . . his paternal uncle was Lord of Session, with the name of Lord Newhall. His mother was of the Cockburns, of Skirling.”

Lord Newhall was a Bellenden of Kilconquhar, and William Ballantyne's connection with this noble family can be more exactly traced from some information which is given by the anonymous author of a Preface to the pious book, compiled by William Ballantyne himself, entitled *A Preparation for Death*. The first edition of this book has disappeared, and the only copy of the second edition I have been able to find, printed at Douai in 1715, is at Blairs College. In this preface it is stated that Mr Ballantyne was:—

“ . . . the second son to Mr Thomas Ballantyne, minister at Douglas, and grandchild to my Lord Newhall, one of the Senators of the College of Justice. His mother was Margaret Cockburn, daughter to the Laird of Skirling.”²

Although this statement, repeated, with a variation of the error, by Abbé Macpherson, regarding the relationship of William Ballantyne to Lord Newhall has never been called in

¹ The name is found spelt in various ways—Bellentyne, Ballantyne, Ballindean, and Bannatyne are all varieties of the same name (*Scots Peerage*, II, p. 61).

² Sir James Cockburn, of Skirling, died 1592 (*Scots Peerage*, IV, p. 409).

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question by subsequent writers, there is no doubt that it is inaccurate. The facts seem to be as follows:—

William Ballantyne, born in 1618,¹ probably at North Berwick, was the second son of Thomas Ballantyne, minister at Douglas, who had previously held a charge at North Berwick, from 1609-21, and was a son of Thomas Ballantyne, of Newtyle.²

Sir James Ballantyne, of Newhall, Lord of Session, Laird of Kilconquhar, died in 1593, leaving a son who died young, and two daughters. His brother Thomas, also appointed Lord of Session, married Marion Gilbert, widow of Thomas Ballantyne, of Newtyle, and died without issue in 1597,³ so that Marion Gilbert, grandmother of Mr William Ballantyne, married a brother of Lord Newhall *en seconde noce*. Thus Lord Newhall was neither his paternal uncle nor his grandfather; was, in fact, no relation at all. Yet William Ballantyne's indirect connection with the Bellendens of Kilconquhar, and his relationship, on his mother's side, with the Cockburns, provided him with a social standing which in the seventeenth century was a useful asset to any one, whether priest or layman, in a position of authority.

All that is known of his early life is told in a few words by the anonymous author of the Preface to his book:—

“After Mr Ballantyne had ended his lower studies at home, he came to the college of Edinburgh, where he passed some time. From thence he went to France; and being at Paris . . . he was converted to the Holy Catholic Faith.”⁴

The next record is in the Register of the Scots College, Rome, where his name is entered in the list of students for the year 1641. Five years later he was ordained priest, and went to the Scots College at Paris, where he became Prefect of Studies.⁵ He was then about twenty-eight years of age. A short description of his character and appearance given in the above quoted Preface, was copied from the first

¹ *Rome Register*, 1641.

² *Fasti Eccles. Scotticane*, I, p. 343. In the Register of Sasines on 2nd May 1653, Mr William Ballantyne is entered as heir to his uncle, Mr Nicoll Ballantyne of Staneflatt.

³ *Scots Peerage*, II, p. 66.

⁴ *Preparation, etc.*, p. iv.

⁵ *Necrologium Collegii Scotorum Parisiensis*.

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edition of the *Preparation*, and must have been written by a contemporary :—

“Mr Ballentin was a tall stately person, of a Brown complexion, well proportioned, very comely and well bred. He was a gentleman of excellent Parts . . . and had an excellent way to deal with Protestants, whom he gained, not only by the Solidity of his Reasons, but also by the Meekness and Sweetness of his spirit. He was also a good and zealous preacher, which does much with them. . . .”

The publication of the second edition of Mr Ballantyne's edifying prayer book (12mo, 90 pp.) resulted in an unedifying controversy, owing to the disparaging remarks about the Secular clergy contained in the Preface. The editor of this edition was supposed to be a Jesuit, who had added comments which, it was alleged, were not to be found in the first edition.

A third edition, with a Preface to be directed against the Jesuits, was planned by certain zealous Seculars at the beginning of the eighteenth century, but fortunately it was not printed. The chief ground of complaint against the Preface of the second edition was the statement that, until the arrival of Mr Ballantyne, the

“mission had been maintained by the Right Rev. Fathers of the Society of Jesus, who had, since the decay of Religion in Scotland, opposed themselves to the Universal Apostacy. But they being here but few in number . . . it was thought most convenient that the Secular clergy should be admitted to the Regular, that they both should join Hand in Hand for so great a work, the education of this once so happy nation, to the bosom of the Catholic Church.”

Another paragraph to which objection was taken, states that when Mr Ballantyne arrived at Paris, he found

“the Scottish College there not ordered according to his mind; nor to the Judgement of some Wise Men, for the Overseers of that House had abandoned the mission in Scotland entirely; though it was endowed with considerable revenues to that effect, by the Most Reverend Father in God James last Arch-bishop of Glasgow. . . .”

The author of the Preface to Mr Ballantyne's book was guilty of some overstatement, but his assertions were very near the truth, and so aroused the wrath of the Secular clergy.

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The existing data for the history of Secular priests in Scotland during the first half of the seventeenth century make it fairly safe to deduce that, even if the facts were all known, that history would still be very brief. Father Gall, in a letter, from which I have already quoted, dated 3rd November, 1649, writing of the Scots College, Paris, says that :—

“ . . . only 2 or three haue bene made Priest into it & feu or non gon out euer to helpe their cuntrey these many yeares.”

Bellesheim wrote that the number of priests in Scotland “ during the reign of Charles I and the rule of Cromwell was very limited.”¹ The *Necrologium* of the Paris College has very few names of priests who could have been in Scotland between 1630 and 1650. In a MS. note on the *History of Religion in Scotland*,² Thomas Innes gives the names of twenty-five priests who were in Scotland from 1613 to 1637. Very few of these remained there for any length of time. Letters in the Archives of Propaganda show that some payment to Secular priests in Scotland was made as early as 1623,³ but the subsidy was not guaranteed until after the appointment, in 1650, of an Agent in Rome to look after the interests of the Scottish Secular mission.

On his arrival in Scotland, in 1649, Mr Ballantyne did not find the affairs of the Seculars in any better condition than he had observed them to be in Paris. He made only a short stay, but converted some “ people of Quality,” among whom was his brother Archibald, who :—

“ . . . after he had been page to the Prince Elector, was at length advanced to be a Major in the Covenanters’ Service. The Major died shortly after his conversion, very piously and happily, to Mr Ballantyne’s great satisfaction.”⁴

Mr Ballantyne returned to Paris in the summer of 1649 with Patrick Gray, “ elder sone of the Goodman of Breky in Angus,”⁵ and left again for Scotland in February, 1650. In a letter dated 30th January, 1650, addressed to Father Andrew

¹ *Bellesheim*, IV, p. 49.

² Clapperton’s *Note-book*. (See Appendix V.)

³ *Archiv. Prop. Lettere Antiche*, Vol. 384, folios 27-28.

⁴ *Preparation for a Happy Death*, p. v. In 1645, “ Archibald Bannantyne ” was a Captain in Sir John Browne’s Regiment (Horse) (C. S. Terry, *The Army of the Covenant*, Vol. I, p. lxxviii, Edinburgh, 1917).

⁵ Father Christie to Scots College, Rome, 14th September, 1649 (*supra*, p. 144).

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Leslie in Rome, the only one in his writing that I have found among the documents at Blairs College, he says :—

“ RT REV AND DEERE FATHER,

“ I beg most humblie pardone for having kept so long silence the reason uas delaying stil upon this occasione and I am sorie that now I am not able to exprese myself so at lenth as I would, bot I houp befor it be long I shal exprese myself more fullie. I haive bien so takne up wt some affairs yt scarce I had leasure to enjoy my self. I am to pairt this viek for Scotland bot I shal send be the poast a letter wherin I wil utter myself mor to the full. . . .”

It is obvious that the writer of this letter had some news to tell. His time in Paris had been occupied with meetings for discussion of means whereby the Secular mission might be reorganised. “There he met,” says the Abbé Macpherson, “with his intimate friends and Co-disciples at Rome, Mr Walker, Mr William Leslie, Mr Thomas Lumsden, Mr James Crichton, and Mr John Smith. All these readily entered into his views, and offered to accompany him immediately to the mission.”¹

It was arranged that William Leslie should go to Rome under the protection of Cardinal Barbarini, who was in Paris at the time, to act as Agent for the Seculars, and endeavour to obtain from Propaganda a subsidy for the missionaries and episcopal authority for Mr Ballantyne.

The difficulties encountered by Mr Leslie, at Rome, are attributed by Abbé Paul Macpherson, in various notes by him now at Blairs College, to the opposition of the Jesuits. In his account of Mr Ballantyne’s history (printed in *Scotchchronicon*, IV, p. 520) he wrote :—

“The Scots Jesuits in France had penetrated Mr Ballendens design. They immediately gave the alarm to their friends at Rome, whom they exhorted to oppose such measure with all their might.”

But it is clear from Father Christie’s letters that in 1650 he had no idea of what the Seculars were arranging in Paris. He writes to the Scots College in February of that year, without making any comment, “Mr Banatin and Mr Valker are upon their way to Scotland.” After they had arrived there, Father Gall had rumours of their doings :—

“19 Aug. 1650. Mr Banantin I heere is labouring to

¹ MS. Catalogue.

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persuade our Scotts Catholikes to petition his Holyness for to giue them a Bishop. this to yourself."

The short period of respite which the Catholics had enjoyed as a consequence of Cromwell's conquest of Scotland encouraged Propaganda to name Mr Ballantyne to the office of Prefect Apostolic, and an annual payment of 500 crowns was granted to support five Secular priests. The Decree confirming these arrangements is dated 1653, at which date, or shortly after, there were five additional Secular priests in Scotland—John Walker, James Crichton, Alexander Bruce, John Smith, and Thomas Lumsden.

Of Mr Ballantyne's appointment Father Christie knew nothing for certain, even at the end of that year. He wrote on 29th December, 1653 :—

"Mr Banandin is come to Paris . . . if to be promoued superior I knou not."

So far was Father Gall from "penetrating Mr Ballendens design," that he only heard of it in the summer of 1652, when the design, as far as the subsidy was concerned, had been accomplished. Father Gall did not give the "alarm" to his friends at Rome till nearly two years after the departure of the Secular missionaries, and it seems clear, therefore, that it was not solely on account of opposition from the Scottish Jesuits that the Holy See declined to sanction the appointment of a Bishop for Scotland. It is true that the Fathers in Scotland did not regard the proposal favourably :—

"Father Gall to Fr. Adam Gordon (Rome) Nov. 8. 1652.

"Sundry secular Priests ar to repayre hence to Scotland, wher they intende to liue well by the pension of one 100 crownes wch the congregation de propaganda is sayd to bestowe upon eache of them yearely, their drift is to haue a Bishop & by his authority to derogate to our priueleges & thus frustrat us of the fruit of our labours. Of this I wreat to our R. F. & this is all the good wee reape of such secular priests as ar bredde in yr college. ponder this maturely I pray you & see wt our R. Fa. Genl. you may impede this, or preuent such letts to the aduancing of the Catholik fayth in our cuntrey . . ."

This letter must have arrived in Rome too late to allow of any effective steps being taken against Mr Ballantyne. Probably the short-sighted policy of Father Gall did not meet with the approval of the General of the Order, who was doing his best

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at Rome to carry out the wishes of the Congregation of Propaganda. The attitude of the General towards these manœuvres of the Scottish Jesuit Fathers is indicated by the reply given to Father Spreul when he wrote from Paris on the 2nd August, 1652, to ask Father Adam Gordon, at Rome, to try and get a share of the subsidy which was to be granted to the Seculars :—

“The persecution against Catholiques ceassing . . . hath mooued F. Gall and me to entreate your R. to represent to our R. F. Generall the necessitye of many labourers . . . and to desyre permission & assistance of his paternitie to procure some annuall pensions from the charitye of the propaganda fide as well as to the seculars. Mr Balantyne & Mr Walker who hath a 100 crownes for each of them per annum, and are bussye in procuring more for seuerall whom they inuite home wt a resolution to ouirtoppe the mission as they pretend . . . for my part I doe not see, if the bussines be prudently carried, how either our R. F. Generall can denye his permission and assistance to deale with the congregation, or they refuse to allowe as much to our fathers as to the seculars, & as I take it to Capucin Lindsay,¹ as F. Thomson knows.”

The expected permission was refused by Father Goswin Nickel, who had just been elected General of the Society, for Father Spreul wrote again on the 16th October, 1654 :—

“If our R. F. General wil not suffer us to aske anything of the propaganda to helpe us, his paternitie would doe a fatherly & charitable worke to cause some of our fathers, who is in credit with people of qualitee to procure maintenance for 2 or 3 of our fathers in Scotland. . . .”

From contemporary letters and reports, it is evident that between 1650 and 1660 the prospects of a Catholic revival in

¹ This must be Father Epiphanius Lindsay (Rogerius Lyndesius in the *Douai Diary*), who, according to Bellesheim, died at the age of eighty-four, and was receiving an allowance from Propaganda in 1647. He was in Scotland as early as 1607, and Bishop Geddes says that he went to Galloway as a successor to Mr Gilbert Brown of New Abbey, “who had kept up the exercise of the Catholic religion in that country from the time of the pretended Reformation to the year 1605. F. Lindsay preserved it till after the year 1660, remaining constantly in the country, assisting the Catholics by night when he could not appear in the day, amidst the greatest hardships and dangers, during all the fury of the Covenant” (Geddes MS., f. 71). The *Douai Diary* says that he died in Scotland in 1666 (*Bellesheim*, IV, p. 75; *Scots Colleges*, p. 9).

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Scotland were more favourable than they had been at any time since the Reformation. Both Regulars and Seculars kept on insisting that the harvest was ripe, and that the labourers were few. But labourers would be of no use unless skilled. With a great scarcity of volunteers, no money to pay for their journey abroad, an insufficient subsidy to provide for their maintenance when they were trained, Mr Ballantyne might well have been discouraged. His energy in coping with these difficulties has been recorded by the Jesuit Fathers, who were no doubt watching his movements with considerable anxiety :—

“Father James Anderson (Douay). [No date, but about 1655.]

“Mr Balentin with his secular preists is very busy, he goeth and commeth from and to Scotland provyding the housse of Paris with fit youthes, and for other businesses to his purpose.”

The success of the Prefect in obtaining recruits for his seminary is admitted by Father Macbrek, who wrote two years later, on 3rd March, 1657, that the College at Paris was overcrowded, and Mr Barclay refused many for want of places. The frequent but necessary absence of the Prefect must have had, for the time being, an unfavourable effect on the work of the home mission, but Mr Ballantyne was looking to the future. The campaign could not be carried on without recruits, and, unless these were properly trained, they might do more harm than good. The evils resulting from pious zeal, unorganised and untrained, had been clearly shown fifty years earlier by the unfortunate failure of the English College at Douai to provide properly instructed priests.¹ It must have seemed highly probable to the Scottish Jesuit Fathers that what had happened in England might very well be repeated in Scotland. The arrival of a few enthusiastic but untrained Seculars might easily have upset all the good work the Jesuits had done, and were doing. Mr Ballantyne saw the danger, and showed his fitness for command by leaving the front line, where his presence could have led to no permanent advantage, and concentrating on the organisation of his forces. He was fortunate in having at his base, in Rome,

¹ “Insufficiently prepared missionaries were sent from the College, and, as the evils continued to increase, apostasies and disorders followed, due to their lack of training” (Peter Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent*, 1558–1795, p. 109, London, 1914).

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an able and energetic Agent, Mr William Leslie (cousin of Father Andrew Leslie, S.J.), who in 1650 was thirty years old. He had entered the Scots College, Rome, as a student in 1641, and studied there for seven years. On being appointed Agent, he was placed in charge of the Archives of the Congregation of Propaganda, and soon acquired in Rome the confidence and respect of all parties. For more than half a century he worked steadfastly in the interests of the Scottish mission, with a singleness of purpose which overcame all opposition. He outlived all his contemporaries. He lived to see the appointment of a Bishop in Scotland forty years after the death of Mr Ballantyne. (He died at Rome on the 23rd of April, 1707, about fifty years before the birth of Abbé Paul Macpherson, who was also to be Agent of the mission, and who died in 1846.) The Congregation of Propaganda, mindful no doubt of the misfortunes which had followed upon the appointment of a Bishop in England thirty years earlier, refused to accept the Agent's recommendation that Mr William Ballantyne should be given episcopal authority. The policy of Propaganda was to bow to the storm, and await better times : a policy due rather to ignorance of local affairs than to a prudence based on contact with the facts. Ever since the Reformation, Rome, in dealing with the Church in Scotland, had followed a line of least resistance ; had avoided making decisions ; had refused to encourage vigorous action. Perhaps the authorities were afraid to take any steps which might irritate Scottish fanaticism. A mistake with far-reaching consequences had been made when, at the death of Archbishop Beaton in 1603, a large body of Scottish Catholics was allowed to become disorganised and defenceless.

Thomas Innes, in a Memoir on the condition of the Scottish Mission, declared his opinion :—

“ . . . that nothing had contributed so much to the almost complete extinction of the Catholic religion in Scotland, as the mistake that was made in not continuing the episcopal succession.”¹

The desirability of restoring the Hierarchy to Scotland was repeatedly urged by Scottish Catholics. Innes has recorded that :—

“ . . . among others, the Earl of Angus, banished at Paris, about

¹ *Mémoire de l'État de la Mission d'Écosse*. This quotation is taken from a copy made by Canon Clapperton from a MS. copy in the handwriting of Bishop Kyle. I have not been able to find the original text.

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the year 1610, earnestly desired that a Bishop might be sent to Scotland as a means absolutely necessary for uniting the missionaries of several parties, and removing dissensions, which was a great hindrance to the progress of religion.”¹

Almost every report sent to Rome from Scotland in the seventeenth century had emphasised the necessity for an ecclesiastical superior. Various names were put forward. Philip, of Sanquhar, was recommended by the Nuncio at Paris before 1637, and about the same time Mr Ronald Macdonald was proposed in the Sacred Congregation to be Bishop of the Isles.² “In August 1640,” writes Bellesheim, “we find negotiations being carried on for the revival of the ancient See of the Isles, to which it was proposed to nominate an Irish Franciscan named Hegarty.” Efforts to obtain the consent of Propaganda to this scheme were still being made in 1642, when Father Hugh Semple, at Madrid, wrote offering to help with Spanish money.³

All these proposals had been rejected. Instead of adopting vigorous measures to reorganise and finance the mission, the Congregation of Propaganda kept on writing to the Nuncios in France and Flanders, entreating them to use their influence in the Courts of Europe to obtain some alleviation of the persecution in Scotland. Meanwhile the Scottish Catholics, though nominally under Mr Ballantyne, were governed by the Nuncio at Paris,⁴ to whose decision even the simplest questions were referred.

¹ From a MS. copy, made by Canon Clapperton, of a historical note written by Thomas Innes and “communicated to him by Alex. Duguid, S.J., in 1741.” This note is referred to in the Editor’s Preface to Blakhal’s *Narration*, p. xxxvii.

² Thomas Innes. MS. notes at Blairs. Macdonald had been a Presbyterian minister, and was at the Irish College, Louvain, in 1627 (*Archives Prop.*, Vol. 129, f. 162).

³ Madrid, 8th October 1642 (*Archives Prop.*, Vol. 129, f. 162). That Catholicism was still able, during the first half of the seventeenth century, to hold its own in the Western Isles is shown by the following story:—

In September, 1630, when the Episcopalian Bishop of the Isles “was visiting his kirks he learned at Icolmkill that Patrick Chagartie [Hegarty], a priest, had come from Ireland and infected the simple ignorant people in the Yles by saying of messe and otherwayes; and that he had gone to the isle of Southuist. He there-upon took boat and went thither, a distance of two miles, and having apprehended the said priest took him with him to bring and present him before their Lordships.” But the local inhabitants “armed with bows, darlocks, hagbuts, and pistols . . . followed the said bishop and his company, presented their weapons at them, and forcibly took the said priest out of their hands” (*Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, 1631, Vol. IV, 2nd Series, p. 391).

⁴ Mgr. Bagni, 1643-56.

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Government under such conditions must have been intolerable and incompetent. The lack of confidence in the Scottish Prefect and his companions, which seems to have prevailed at Rome at this time, must have been likewise very discouraging. The task of Mr William Leslie, Agent for the Mission, called for an immense exercise of patience. Few people in Rome seem to have known anything about Scotland. The bewilderment of the ecclesiastical functionaries is shown by a letter from the Congregation of Propaganda to the Nuncio in Paris, asking him if it was true, as was reported by John Walker, that missionaries were badly wanted in Scotland.¹ Any one who could ask such a question as this in 1652, was clearly out of touch with the state of affairs in Scotland. The Nuncio in France was in a better position to collect information. But he had other things to do, and the French Court was not always at Paris. Consequently, Scottish ecclesiastical business suffered from interminable delays. The Nuncio acted also as financial agent. He received from Propaganda the annual subsidy granted for the Scottish mission. The money was often delayed, and the sum that did eventually arrive in Scotland was diminished by excessive cost of transmission, exchange, and other expenses. The case is put to Propaganda with some vigour by Patrick Con, in a letter dated from Paris, 26th September, 1659²:—

“ They complain also that they do not receive punctually that small subsidy which the Sacred Congregation allows to them, and it seems that this year it is very late, the payment due in April as in the past having now come in September. Moreover it is sent to Monsig. the Nuncio, who is in Bordeaux

¹ “ A Monsig. nuntio di Francia. Viene rappresentato a questa Sacra Congregazione de propaganda fide da Giacomo Walchero, sacerdote Scozzese, il progresso della Catholica religione in quel regno per opera dei due missionarii che vi furano inviati della Medesima, e che perciò vi sia gran bisogno de nuovi operarii, donde si sono mossi questi Emanmi miei Signori di scriverne a V.S., perche Ella informandosi come può della verità di ciò che si suppone . . . ” (*Archives Prop.*, Vol. 29, f. 53, September 9, 1652). Propaganda wrote later to the Nuncio at Paris, 7th March 1656, asking if it was true, as reported by Mr W. Ballantyne, that in spite of persecution the number of Catholics was increasing in Scotland (*Arch. de Prop. Lettere della S. Cong.*, Vol. 31, f. 13).

² Patrick Con, nephew to George Con, and son of Patrick Con, of Auchry, Aberdeenshire. A distinguished layman, who did a great deal to help the Scottish Secular clergy. He held some post in the household of Cardinal Barbarini, and at the Restoration acquired influence at the English Court. His letters for the decade, 1660–70, are extremely outspoken, and illuminating for the history of that period.

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with the King, 400 miles distant, and it may be perhaps six months more before he returns to Paris. Meantime those unfortunate men who await this assistance are in want. . . .”

Another letter from the same writer, the original of which is in the Archives of Propaganda, is dated 10th July, 1659 :—

“This is the second time that I have written to Your Excellency about the affairs of those poor missionaries, who are working in Scotland without any other assistance than that small subsidy which the S. Congregation gives them, and now they are faced with the extra difficulty in obtaining payment of what has been promised to them, and without which they cannot live in those countries, the law having taken from the poor Catholics the power of helping them.

“I have already pointed out to Your Excellency the great injury caused by the delay in affairs of which they have such great need, and especially in the matter of that small pension for their maintenance, which should have been paid in Rome last March, but of the payment of which there is as yet no news. The Clergy of France support four or five priests¹ among the Mountains of the same kingdom of Scotland, and give them a hundred scudi each, paid regularly and without any ceremony, and the Congregation of Propaganda gives only half as much, and it is always paid out of time and with a thousand delays, and half of it is taken up with the cost of the transport of letters, which they cannot get except with great expense and extreme danger.”

It is not easy to estimate with accuracy the number of Catholics in Scotland during the Cromwellian period.

At the end of the sixteenth century adherents of the old Church were still numerous. Thomas Innes wrote that “A.D. 1580, twenty years after the pretended reformation, the Catholics tho not all publically declared, were yet as numerous as the Protestants.”² Yet in seventy years the number had been reduced to a powerless minority. Mr William Leslie, in a memorial presented to the Pope in 1689, declared that in 1650 “there were not more than twenty Catholic families in the whole kingdom, no secular missionaries, and only two or three regulars.” This calculation, certainly an underestimate, did not take into account the number of hidden Catholics, which from 1650 to 1660 was still considerable, as Father Macbrek

¹ The reference is to missionaries sent by St Vincent de Paul to the Highlands and Isles.

² *MS. Notes on Scottish History* (in Clapperton's *Note-book*).

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points out in a letter written on 1st September, 1656, where he speaks of the favourable prospects in Scotland, if only the persecution were to be relaxed :—

“Fr. Macbrek (Paris) to Fr. Talbot (Rome) 1st. Sept. 1656.

“F. Gall in his last to me acquaints me of the seaue aryuel of the Ireis Father Tobyn to Edimbt., when he was there, from thens he did send him to Fr. Grant, with Fr. Spreul; also acquaints me of ther great powerte and wants, with the number of ours daley inressing as also the number of Catholiques inressing for all the present persecution, and if ther ware but the laist toleration 1000 daley wald cumme in; multi vocati sed pauci electi, and that remains constant, when any great and heaue persecution falls upon them. . . .”

Scottish historians have emphasized the fact “that in Scotland there was at no time the remotest chance of a counter-Reformation.”¹ But it is also true, and should not be forgotten, that such a reaction was rendered impossible by the vigilant application of laws against the Catholic religion. The scales were heavily weighted on the Presbyterian side. The Presbyterian argument was “pyke and musket.” If the Catholics in Scotland had been allowed in 1655 such freedom as was accorded at the time to Protestants in France, it is probable that large numbers of the people would have returned to the religion of their ancestors. The pressure of constant economic persecution, in a country already miserably poor, proved almost everywhere effective. Moreover, for three generations the field had been practically clear of opposition. For three generations the gospel of anti-popery had been thundered into people’s ears, till the congregations were convinced that the Pope was antichrist, and that they themselves were the chosen people of God.

Yet, when Mr Ballantyne arrived in Scotland, Catholic tradition, even in the Lowlands, had not been entirely obliterated. Some of the older men could still remember that their grandfathers had professed the religion now proscribed and proclaimed as offensive to God and man. In Aberdeenshire and the North-East, the faith would have revived at the slightest breath of freedom. Had the principle of self-determination been recognised, almost the whole of the Highlands and Isles would have professed the old religion.²

¹ John Buchan, *Montrose*, London, 1928, p. 45.

² The arrival of the Franciscan Friars in the Isles in 1624 had produced hundreds of reconciliations; thirty years later the missionaries sent by St Vincent de Paul enrolled Catholics in thousands.

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The measures adopted by the enemies of the Church had been well calculated. The persecution of the Catholics, from the very beginning, was conducted according to a business-like plan. Refusal to conform to the new religion was made an offence against civil law; offenders were therefore "disloyal," and could be treated as rebellious citizens. The faithful few were reduced to beggary, and their children taken away to be educated in the "trew religion." And all the time, in the pulpits, and in such prints as were issued, the campaign of calumny against the old Church was ceaselessly continued. All this was done without arousing that public attention and sympathy which always follows from the more spectacular forms of martyrdom. Against such tactics it is difficult to suggest any line of defence that could have proved successful. From the very beginning the Catholics underestimated the strength of their enemies and played into their hands. Most of those who had outwardly submitted, as a temporary expedient, to avoid loss of property and exile, waited in vain for a cessation of persecution, and gradually lost touch with the faithful laymen and scattered priests still left in the country. The policy of outward submission proved disastrous. The Jesuit Fathers had reported in 1628:—

"From the overthrow of religion to the year 1617 there were very few Catholics who were not guilty of this compliance. . . ." ¹

Although the Fathers persisted in forbidding their flock to attend heretical worship even in times of severe persecution, some Catholics held that they were justified in employing almost any subterfuge to shield themselves and their families from ruin, and a few undoubtedly went so far as to sign the Covenant against their own conscience. Gordon, the Parson of Rothiemay, wrote that "many who subscribed at that time resolved to give obedience, saying they had rather fall into the hands of God by perjury, than into the hands of the covenanters by beggarye of themselves and familiees." ²

Some idea of the difficulties against which even the Catholics belonging to influential families had to contend, may be gained from the history of a daughter of Irvine of Drum, who had married Viscount Frendraught:—

"It is no overstatement of the case," wrote Chambers

¹ Forbes Leith, *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics*, Vol. I, p. 18. See, *infra* Appendix VI, a report on the plight of Catholics in Scotland written probably in 1651.

² Gordon, *History of Scots Affairs from 1637 to 1641*, Spalding Club, III, p. 130.

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(*D.A.*, II, p. 158), "to say that the ministers set themselves simply to harass her out of her peculiar convictions, or rather professions; for they seem to have been content when they could effect an external conformity." The details of the constant visitations and railings inflicted on this unfortunate lady are given in the Presbytery Book of Strathbogie. "After an incessant harassment of 14 years," she subscribed the Covenant in June, 1650, only to relapse into popery, protected now by Cromwell from the economic consequences of excommunication, and encouraged by the presence of a Catholic priest (Mr John Walker) in her father's house.

It is certain that in the middle of the seventeenth century the Scottish clergy, both Seculars and Regulars, occasionally gave dispensations to converts, so that they could attend for a time heretical services, and thus avoid the severe financial penalties inflicted on absentees. This practice gave great scandal to many of the old Catholics, who had remained faithful, and suffered the consequences of excommunication. Father John Seton, on his return from Scotland in 1649, wrote that this state of affairs was causing dissension among the Scottish Catholics, and that the problem involved was one "of very considerable and grytt importance." He asked Father Adam Gordon to get an authoritative decision from Rome:—

"The case is; whether or no, those who are newly conuerted from heresy unto the Catholicke faithe, secretly and unknown to others of whatsoeuer profession, to be so, may be permitted for a tyme, or euer whill they be knowen, to repair, as they were wont before, to hereticall Churches, and there assist at sermons, prayers, and other dueties belongong to the established seruice of God in our land. It is agreed and practiced by all yr freinds (howsoeuer some others are reported to inclyne to, and to giue some way in the contrare) that it is not lawfull to any olde and knowen Catholickes to resorte unto such eronious conuenticles, or participate in there rites; but some seemes to apprehend some difference, whereby they woulde inclyne to some more indulgence in behalfe of the other newly conuerted. Therefore that all may thinke and speake one thing it is very requisite to haue some well grounded resolution, whereunto to adhere and conforme themselues; and this is expected to be obtained from thence by your meanes."

The granting of these dispensations would obviously facilitate conversions, but to do so under the conditions

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described by Father Seton was clearly a breach of ecclesiastical law. Mere bodily attendance at a heretical service is under certain circumstances permissible, but the Canon Law could never have been stretched so as to permit an attendance which involved a pretence at taking part in the heretical ceremonies. Yet there is little doubt that the Seculars and also some of the Scottish Jesuits occasionally granted such a dispensation. Against this practice Father Christie protested vigorously :—

“ Douay Oct. 22. 1649. F. Seaton arriued to Flandes. . . . the summ of the neues that he uas to consult uith the Doctores if catholiques could goe to heretique Churches, and preachinges to uich Father Gall urites to haue replied that the Doctores their uare not used uith such cases, and that such (thogh not knouen) as desired permission to dissemble couertly uould deny openly as experience doe teach us. He ansuered as I, and I hope your R. uould haue done, the dreadful experience of many hath not only beene the cause of their ouen damnation, bot of otheres ; yea the cause of the ruin of the Catholique religion in Scotland, as those of the best sort, and our nighboures the English doe proclame, and I am hairtely sory that some of ours, as I urite to them, are said to be too ready to humeur such, also that one Doctor Bailze seruant to the Duke of Hamilton demanding and defending the same said that F. Rob and oures in Scotland resaue him and otheres as laufully done which I contradicted. Truly if oures, as God forbid, use these formes their, they uil doe more euil nor good, for the Catholiques in Scotland hath no reason more to dissemble nor in England, uhair they are no more esteemed Catholiques, nor capable of sacraments if they frequent heretique conuenticles. This is al F. Seaton's inconsiderat neues. And that Morginton (whoes Lady is excommunicat) is in hazard to lose if not compone his estate in England, soe his scandalous dissimulation doe offend God, and not saue his temporal meanes. One man of condition told me the last day that being uith my Lord Seaton befor his death, did heare him exclame against Morginton as cause of his dissimulation and scandalous breach. Let us at al occasion hinder this dangerous opinion seing it is offensive to God, ruine of soules, discredit to Preests, and our Society, as is objected.”¹

¹ Lord Seaton, third Earl of Winton, died 17th December 1650. Father Macbrek acted as Chaplain to him from 1627-39. Gardiner has printed in his *Charles II and Scotland in 1650*, a letter from an English soldier in Scot-

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One of the Jesuit Fathers in Scotland wrote to Father Christie informing him that the Marchioness of Huntly had been converted by Mr Ballantyne but, "as others," still went to the Presbyterian services. In reporting this to the Rector at Rome, Father Christie says that this practice will give scandal, and has "neuer been permitted be me to the ruin of the Catholique religion, of uihich some course must be taken wt ours uho doe the same" (9th September 1652).

The success of the Secular clergy in the North of Scotland aroused suspicion among the Jesuits that they were granting permission to attend the Kirk. Father Christie writes:—

"27. Feb. 1653. I entreate you let me haue in your next a list of those conuertet Catholiques, and cause try uarily, not be yourself, if those men resaue and gife licence to frequent the haeretique Churches as befor. Let the propaganda aduise, seing such proceeding is no conuersion, bot delusion to the scandal of constant Catholiques uho hath sufferet as you know. Let this be done uarily as not from us."

The progress of the secular mission to Scotland was seriously impaired in 1656 by the temporary loss of Mr Ballantyne, who was captured and kept prisoner for nearly two years in London. An account of this misadventure is given in the Preface to his book above mentioned. In the summer of 1656 Mr Ballantyne went from Gordon Castle to Dieppe to be present at the veiling of a sister¹ of the Marchioness of Huntly, who had entered a Religious Order in that town:—

". . . and passing from Rye to diepe he and all the passengers were taken by the Ostenders and carried before the Governor. Mr Ballentine having discovered his character was liberate immediately The Lord Connaway being one of the prisoners,

land with the following reference to this family: "And to my observation, unlesse it were the Lady Winton, a papist who lives at Seaton, about seven miles from Edinburgh (her husband is styled Earle of Winton, Lord of Seaton, Baron of Preston, and Goodman of Cockenny), there was not any one of them that made officer or soldiour of this army eat or drink, of their own accords. . . ."

¹ According to a letter written by Mr James Carnegie to Mr Thomas Innes, 6th February, 1716, Mr Ballantyne had accompanied the young lady to Dieppe in 1653 or 1654, and had advanced money to the Marquis of Huntly to defray the expenses of the journey and "dot," raising for that purpose "500 merks on his own patrimony which was served to him upon the lands of Stonyhill, a few miles from Edinburgh, for which he got the Marquis's bond." On his return to Scotland "finding the Marquis dead, and that the calamity of these unhappy times had rendered the family of Huntly to great straits . . . Mr Ballentyne . . . put the Marquis's bond into the fire."

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and not knowing the reason of the liberation of Mr Ballantine desired him at any rate, to get him out of prison, otherwise he threatened he would do him injuries ; for his Lordship knew he was to return to Rye where he had left his horse. Mr Ballantine made all the excuses to the Lord Connaway that he should not treat him so unkindly seeing it was not in his power to liberate him. But Connaway returning soon to England from prison another way, gave account of his adventures with Mr Ballantine, whom he assured to be a spy from England to the Spaniards who were then in wars with the English ; and told moreover that he had left his horse at Rye. Mr Ballantine returning to England and knowing nothing of the matter was made prisoner at Rye, while he called for his horse, and carried to London, by the Usurpers orders, before Secretary Thurloe, who told him that he was certainly a spy. Mr Ballantine denied. The Secretary replying ; If thou art not a spy ; how couldst thou have got so soon thy Liberty from the Spaniards our enemies ? Mr Ballantyne told him, there might be reasons for it, which were not fit to be told ; but the Secretary admitting of no excuses, he was obliged at last to tell that he was a missionary priest for Scotland, and added at the same time, that for the same very reason he knew he deserved death by their laws ; but that he put himself nevertheless fully in his hands. Mr Thurloe beleived him ; and so he was committed to a Messengers house in Westminster where he stayed about a year. In this confinement he gave great proofs of his patience, virtue and piety ; so that his keeper admired him, and made his fame come to the Usurpers ears. At length the secretary dismissed him and payed all his charges. About which time Mr Dunbar *alias* Winster came from beyond seas, a man cut out for business, and who understood his own employment. He also contributed very much by his Addresses and good conduct to Mr Ballantynes speedy liberation. . . .”

Another account of Mr Ballantyne’s adventure is given in an intercepted letter from a Royalist, in Paris, named Kingstonn, which is printed in Thurloe’s *State Papers* (Vol. VII, p. 326), dated 21st August, 1658 (N.S.) :—

“ His function and poverty pleaded so well for Balledin, as he found grace in the eyes of those catholique sea-rowers. . . . the story only mentions the imprisonment of Ballendin for 22 months, untill about five weeks agoe. . . . Cromwell not only gave order for his being sett at liberty, but sent him

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three score pounds sterling, to bring him into France. This Mr Clifford, a right English preist, who had it from Balledin himself, now in this citty, tould me, and that Cromwell is of late generally indulgent to the Catholique clergy; what shape this Proteus intends now to assume, is hard to guess; but I am sure it will be such a one as he thinkes may best serve his turne. . . .”

According to a letter written by Father Macbrek on 1st September, 1656, Mr Ballantyne paid a visit to Paris before returning to England :—

“ Now of late Mr Balanting is comme hether, and kaiepe verie close specially from me. . . . he was takeng upon sea by Dunkirke and plundret; the raport is his cumming is for Mres Gant profession sister to my Lady Markes of Huntlay . . .”

His imprisonment at London was probably not very strict, for Father Macbrek wrote on 24th October, 1656 :—

“ Our Scots PP. heare wald verie willingly ding down that Mr Balating is not in prison at London, but only in ane free hous, and hopies that money will frey him. I pray God it be so; but I apprehend the worse.”

Mr Ballantyne was technically a political prisoner, and as such, had to pay his own expenses. In a Memorial to Propaganda by the Scottish Agent in Rome, dated 29th May, 1659, Mr William Leslie gives the following details :—

“ William Bannatin Prefect of the Scottish Mission after more than a years imprisonment in London in order to obtain his freedom was compelled to borrow two hundred scudi from a secret Catholic, and from another, a heretic, related to a Scottish merchant in Paris. These people not seeing any way of being paid threaten to put him back into prison again if he should return again to the country. This would not only be a great hardship to the said Bannatin but will fall heavily on the whole mission. . . . he begs therefore that your Eminences will deign to grant him some assistance in so great a necessity. . . .”¹

¹ The identity of one of the people who had lent the money for Mr Ballantyne's release might be traced from an undated fragment of a letter in the handwriting of Father Christie: “ Mr Ballentin, as I haue from London, is to be released be meanes of one Mr Wright, greate uith Catholique and heretique ladies, who hath pouer at that court.”

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This document is marked "Arbitrio Nuncii Die 2. Dec. 1659."

Patrick Con, in a letter written from Paris to the Secretary of Propaganda, in May, 1659, gives an account of his meeting in Paris with Mr Ballantyne :—

"I have found here Mr Ballentyne, the Superior of that poor Scottish mission ; he is still weak from the hardships of his recent imprisonment. But for all that he keeps a stout heart and is not wanting in good will to carry out the duties of his vocation. He is an apostolic and worthy man. I beseech your Excellency not to hinder by delays his pious designs. The poor man has incurred so many expenses in prison that he does not know how to satisfy his creditors, unless the Congregation comes to his assistance. It will be urgent to do quickly what is to be done, because many will suffer from his absence. Those poor missionaries have need of prompt assistance. . . . I fear, that in the end, those poor men will be obliged to change their condition [*i.e.*, become regulars] if things go on in the future as they have done in the past."

The sum of 200 scudi, allowed to Mr Ballantyne by Propaganda, only reached the Nuncio in Paris on the 10th January, 1660. The delay in providing this money is a significant example of the way in which the business of the Scottish mission was being conducted. A transaction which even in those days of slow travelling should have been carried through in six weeks, took nearly a whole year. During that year the Prefect, who had no money to pay his way to Scotland, had to remain in Paris. He did not get back to his post till the 18th of May, 1660.

He went to his usual station at Elgin, to stay with his old friend the Marchioness of Huntly. His first letter to Rome is dated "Elgina nella Contea di Moravia 29 Giugno 1660." The original is in the Propaganda Archives.¹ The copy at Blairs is in the handwriting of Abbé Macpherson, who has added a note to say that "this letter was wrote to the Nuncie at Paris" :—

"REV & ILLUSTR. SIGNORE,

"I arrived in Scotland on the 18th of May where I found the whole Kingdom mightily rejoicing for the happy return of the King to his dominions ; the first thing I did after landing was to receive back into Holy Church a certain

¹ *Arch. de Prop. Fide*, Vol. 38, f. 93.

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ecclesiastic James Crichton. . . . I then set out to find my other colleagues, who have pleased me much by their diligence and the consequent results which have really exceeded my expectation. By the grace of God there is no persecution for the moment, yet it is necessary to proceed with the usual caution so as not to give occasion to our enemies to complain to parliament of our too great presumption during the present period of toleration. We expect from this Parliament some sort of Edict against us like the laws against Catholics in the days of Queen Elizabeth; for this reason those who have some considerable property stand aloof: fear to lose temporal goods prevailing over their salvation, and the affection which, for the most part, they have for following the Catholic faith. But at the same time a good number of the people, of those who have few temporal goods to lose, join us every day, but we are so few in number that it will be quite impossible to help all as it ought to be done. . . . I beg you, moreover, to deal with the Congregation so that in the future they will provide punctually the usual pension, for I cannot describe the difficulty there is to live in this miserable country, being reduced to extreme poverty and costliness of everything. . . .”

Mr Ballantyne's health broke down not long after his arrival in Scotland. He died at Elgin on 12th September, 1661, after forty days' illness. Abbé Macpherson gives an edifying account of his death.

He was buried with great solemnity in the tomb belonging to the Huntly family in the Cathedral Church at Elgin. The funeral was attended “by the Magistrates and Citizens of the Town, as likewise by many Country gentlemen who, though Protestants, were happy to give that last token of their esteem and respect for the deceased.”¹ He was forty-three years old.

¹ Macpherson, *MS. Catalogue*.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SECULAR CLERGY: MR JOHN WALKER

Author of *The Presbyteries Triall*, a book which ought to have been read all over Scotland—John Walker, an Edinburgh graduate—His reasons for returning to the Old Church—An adventure of three priests at Strathbogie—News from Scotland; the Aberdeen ministers; Principal John Row, of King's College—Rivalry between the Jesuits and the Seculars—Father Macbrek's opinion of "Capuchin Leslie"—Mr Walker at Drum Castle—The Laird of Drum and the Presbytery of Aberdeen—Mr John Walker's secret.

NEARLY all that is known about Mr John Walker is contained in a brief reference in Bellesheim's *History*, where he is credited with the conversion of many notable people in the North of Scotland about the middle of the seventeenth century, and with the authorship of a book called *The Presbyteries Triall*.¹

Forbes Leith² says that Mr Walker was "possibly" the author of this book; there is no reason for this note of uncertainty. On the contrary, there is ample evidence to show that Mr Walker wrote the book, not only in the papers now at Blairs, but also in the Archives of the Congregation of Propaganda. The Abbé Macpherson had no doubt on the subject, and had probably seen a copy of the book, which, he says, "is now extremely rare; it would be a great pity were it entirely lost."³

There are three copies at Blairs College, and not one, as far as I know, in any other English or Scottish library. The full title of the book, as was customary in the seventeenth century, takes up considerable space:—

"Presbyteries Triall or the Occasion and Motives of Conversion to the Catholique Faith, of a Person of Quality, in Scotland. To which is subjoyned a Little Touchstone of the Presbyterian Covenant."

It was printed at Paris in 1657, *permissu superiorum*, and evidently submitted to a strict censorship; two separate

¹ *Bellesheim*, IV, p. 123.

² *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics*, I, p. 238.

³ *Scotichronicon*, IV, p. 623.

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approbations are printed in Latin immediately after the Preface, which is signed with the initials F. W. S.¹ The first censor's report is signed by Dr Henry Holden, a famous Divine of the Sorbonne, the second by Ed. Tirel, Ri. Nugent, and Fr. Joannes Poncius, Ordinis S. Francisci.²

Some reconstruction of Mr Walker's history can now be made from (1) documents already known, now become more intelligible owing to the discovery of his book; (2) references to his activities contained in some of the letters at Blairs College; (3) the Archives of the S.C. de Propaganda Fide at Rome.

The important part played by this priest in the history of the Catholic Church in Scotland has been forgotten. His work had to be carried on in secrecy, and the secret has been kept until the present day. Although a complete story of his adventures may never be known, it is possible to recover some of the chief incidents of his life, and to provide, if not a picture, at least a tracing of this determined and resourceful missionary.

Scotsmen have always had a feeling of sympathy for a gallant enemy fighting against superior forces, and to-day even the most resolute enemy of "Popery" might yet be proud to hear of one Scot who kept his flag flying, and with untiring energy and true Scottish perseverance maintained his position in the heart of a hostile country, dealing many a shrewd blow at the headquarters of Presbytery in Aberdeen, at the Moderator himself, who little knew from what quarter the attack really originated.

John Walker was the son of Alexander Walker, an Edinburgh merchant of good standing. Bellesheim says that "he embraced the Catholic religion in Portugal while living in that country in the capacity of secretary to Lord Lindsay."³ But this statement, probably a mere guess, is contradicted

¹ This signature misled Oliver, who suggests that the author might be Father William Stuart, S.J. (*alias Sharp*) (*Collections*, p. 39).

² Ed. Tirel. Perhaps "Monsieur Tirrell, D.D., Superior of the Irish in the Abbey of Arras" (*Hist. Comm. Report XIII*, Append., Vol. I, p. 556).

Ponce was a Franciscan from County Cork. He wrote a book called *Belingi Vindiciæ Eversæ* (Paris, 1653), defending the Rebellion of 1641, and was regarded with suspicion by the Whigs and Puritans (see *The Spottiswoode Miscellany*, II, pp. 99, 100). The King's Secretary, Sir Edward Hyde, wrote to his agent in Rome, November 1653, to "use all means to prevent the appointment at Rome of Father Ponce, a Franciscan, to be Provincial of the Recollects in Ireland . . ." (*Clarendon State Papers*, II, p. 270).

³ Alexander, second Lord Lindsay of Balcarres (*Scots Peerage*, I, p. 519).

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by a contemporary report in the Archives of Propaganda, which states that John Walker had been converted at Rome by Mr William Ballantyne.¹ Some facts of Mr Walker's history are contained in a manuscript note (copied by Bishop Geddes) pasted inside a copy of *The Presbyteries Triall*, belonging to the library of the Scots College at Valladolid:—

“The Author of this book is Mr John Walker, a priest of the Scottish clergy mission. He was born in Edinburgh of respectable parents. His father was a merchant, but John, having finished his earlier studies at home, and completed two years of Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, obtained the Degree of Doctor.² Afterwards in those most turbulent times he attached himself to Lord A. Lindsay, at that time an upholder of the authority of King Charles I, acting as his secretary, and shortly after accompanied him when he was Major, as they call it, in Portugal.”

In the first few pages of *Presbyteries Triall* there is an account of the reasons which led to the author's conversion, but nothing is said about any visit to Portugal. The omission of names and places (a very necessary precaution at the time the book was written) makes it difficult to get any definite facts. Mr Walker writes as if his conversion had taken place (certainly his mind had been made up) before his departure from Scotland:—

“The Confusion of the ministers, he says, was the occasion of my first doubt . . . having then after a serious equitable and zealous search of the truth, found it, by Gods grace, to be where the Ministers clamours, and my education, made me least suspect it was . . . the reasons which moved me to think strangely of our religion were these following, all which I saw with my eyes. 1. The Ministers Inconstancy in Doctrine. 2. Their Dissensions. 3. Their contradicting their own Principles. 4. Their Cruelty over mens consciences. 5. Disobedience to Civil Magistrates, with a shew of godliness without any effect or truth of it. . . . If the

¹ “Giovanni Valchero, fu convertito alla fede in Roma per opera del suddetto Guglielmo Bannatino, e entrato nel colleggio dei Scozzesi s'applicò con un fervore straordinario allo studio delle lettere, et alle cose di divotione, e riuscì nell'uno e nell'altro con lode dei superiori. . . . E dotto nelle lingue, versato nelle controversie, predica bene e con molto frutto, e fervore” (*Arch. de Propaganda Scritture Originali Riferite nelle Cong. Generali*, Vol. 297, f. 293).

² He graduated 25th July 1635 (*Cat. of the Graduates of University of Edinburgh*, p. 51, 1855).

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true Church may be known by her unity; then the false church is no lesse but more easily discerned by its dissensions."

Mr Walker had gone to the Scots College, Rome, in 1643, was there ordained in 1648, joined Mr Ballantyne in Paris, and proceeded with him to Scotland in February 1650. Very little is known of the work accomplished by these secular missionaries during the first few years after their arrival. Ballantyne resided at the Marquis of Huntly's castle, known as the Bog of Gight, which had hitherto always been a Jesuit station. Father Spreul wrote from Paris in August, 1652:—

"The Marquise of Huntly his ladye is become Catholique & reconciled by Mr Balantyne, who hath his residence theire wheirat Father Chrystie is not a litle angrie, that our fathers should haue lost that residence."

Mr Walker also went to Aberdeenshire.¹ Some idea of his adventurous experiences in the North-East of Scotland can be obtained from an undated and unsigned report quoted by Bellesheim and translated by Hunter Blair.² The original document, however, which is in the Archives of Propaganda, is dated 1655 and signed by John Walker³:—

"The decree which was last year extorted from the Protector Cromwell, by the importunity and calumnies of the ministers, against priests and Catholics, remained unenforced for six months, for all the authorities [*i.e.*, English authorities] were reluctant to carry it out, until at the beginning of Lent certain Anabaptist magistrates consented to do so, after much pressure from the ministers. Accordingly, dividing their forces, they searched simultaneously various houses of nobles and citizens, chiefly in the city and county of Aberdeen, hoping by this method to apprehend all the priests living in that district at one and the same time. But matters turned out as they wished only in the castle and estate of Strathbogie, where they discovered two priests and myself, and carried us prisoners to the neighbouring military station

¹ He paid a brief visit to Paris in 1652, when he wrote to Propaganda on 5th July, that he had come there to look for priests for the Scottish mission, and says that "prospects are very good if help be given" (*Arch. de Prop. Lettere Antiche*, Vol. 297, f. 277).

² *Bellesheim*, IV, p. 344.

³ *Arch. de Prop. Fide*, "Scritture riferite nei congressi Scozia," Vol. I, f. 485.

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at Frendraught. The commander of the horse had all the names of the priests written in a little book, and ingenuously admitted to me that I had been described to him so exactly as to stature, complexion, features, and other distinctive marks, that he could have drawn a complete portrait of me before he saw me. I remained with them only for a short time ; for with the help of certain noble ladies, and especially through the efforts, and the security, of the Viscount of Frendraught, who is very influential with these English, and who had been the means of my coming to those parts, I was set at liberty. The other two were sent to Edinburgh, where they were kept in prison for some six months ; but as nothing could be legally proved against them, although a number of witnesses, by the instigation of the ministers, were brought and urged with threats to give testimony, they were at length released from custody, on condition, however, that they should not pass a night out of Edinburgh. The ministers were almost mad with rage, and offered themselves to testify on oath that the accused were really priests ; but their demand was rejected, and leave was subsequently granted to the priests even to return to their own districts, provided that they would appear within two months before the court at Aberdeen, so that if nothing further were proved against them, they might be fully and legally acquitted."

Viscount Crichton, of Frendraught, was a secret convert ; he and his brother had married two Catholic ladies, daughters of the Laird of Drum. These were the " certain noble ladies " who assisted in obtaining Mr Walker's release. He was set free, promising to pay a sum of money, for which Frendraught gave security. This incident led to a dispute between the Seculars and the Jesuit Fathers, who held, not unreasonably, that if priests, when they were captured, paid for release with a fine, active search for them would be encouraged. Father Macbrek had refused to purchase his freedom for £100, lest the enemy should make it a precedent to establish against others.¹ Such disagreement on a matter of vital importance is evidence of the weakness from which the Church in Scotland suffered at this time, owing to the absence of episcopal authority.

The capture of these priests was the result of a drive for trafficking Papists organised by the ministers, who were getting anxious about the ever-increasing numbers of converts in

¹ Forbes Leith, *Memoirs*, II, p. 66.

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Aberdeenshire.¹ The following extracts from the correspondence of the Jesuit Fathers at Douai and Paris, refer to the adventure of the three priests, and to other incidents reported from Scotland at that time :—

“ Fr. James Anderson (Douay) to Fr. Talbot (Rome)
March 1st. 1655.

“ Wee hear al is sething now in Scotland. Owr Ministers carryeth as muche good wille to Catholiks as befor, bot praised be God who hathe giuen to ane euil heady cow short horns. Wee ar informed that no generalle assemblYES be made now in the cowntrie. the last year a prouincial assembly was holden in Aberdeen in thrie diuerse bodyes, on urged the old fashion of assemblies, of this faction Mr Cant was ringleader ; another faction protested against this. of this Mr Mengzes and Row was head or fatheres. the third to witt of Independents. now also a faction is said to be forming for the Anabaptists ; in the mean papists increases.”

“ Same to the same. 14th April 1655.

“ Alace good old kynd Strathboggie is now very low. I know non of owrs that hanteth it for the present, it is trewe Fr. Grant was taken in the Castel, bot they say it was only by chance that he was there, for the seculare preists hathe ther station there, and consequently possesseth almost alle ther-abowt. F. George Lesley taketh muche paines in Buchane Garioche and therabowt, and not withowt profite, as wee are informed. his neuuy sayes he broke a ribbe in his syd the last yeare, it ware very needful he hade assistance in thes partes. I heer that yowr mother brother Hew hade a mynd to send his sonne to be broght wp either heer or in Paris albeit he be a precise puritane himself. Mr James Gordon continueth aluayes constant. as for yowr brother I ame affraied he be lost. it may be he coste yowrsel a voyage to Scotland be tym, bot I hope to goe before. Thomas Colisone is become a stowt Catholike again. owr Aberdeens ministers agreeth amongs themselves lyk cats and dogges, bot concure to harme catholikes in what they can. On of them called Row²

¹ A letter, dated 1656, written in French to the Nuncio at Paris by Mary Irvine, wife of Alexander Irvine of Drum, states that Messrs Ballantyne and Walker “ had converted the houses of Huntly, Drum, and Frendraught, and another gentleman called Oliphant, thirty other gentlemen, as many shopkeepers and merchants, and twice as many of the common people ” (*Arch. de Propaganda Scritture Originali Riferite nelle Cong. Generali*, Vol 297, f. 407).

² John Row, Principal of King's College, 1651-1661.

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in old Aberdeen Minister and Principal of the College is becommie a dipper, whois wyfe, as the boy latly comme reportes, hathe been the occasion that the most parte of the yowthes of that College is gon to the Newtown, becaus shee mixed himselfe withe ther examens and gouernment."

"Fr. Macbrek (Paris) to Fr. Talbot (Rome). 23 April 1655.

"Fr. Grant, and Mr Waker, and ane Mr White ane Erais sequare prist, ware all upon Ashe Winsday apprehendaet in Strabogy. I think the Iris prestes, unlaies they wil hud themselves in the hilands and yls, for the which they are particularly send, they haue lataiel a dow in Low contry, for the reparing of many, at ane plaise, is the cause of apprehension of others."

"Fr. Christie (Douay) to Fr. Talbot. (Rome). May 3. 1655.

"Adam Gordon of Valheades sone nephue to our Fr. George Lesly is comed heare from Scotland. F. Grant uas taken, and ane Irish preest (none such ar fitt for our Loulandes bot to giue euil exemple and cause (as is said) persecutions) in Strabogy, and Mr Valker in Frendraght al in prison at Aberdeen. Stralethes sone minister at Rothymay they urite did moue the English men to it.¹ many are named Catholiques, bot feu are fond uho frequent not Churches be reason of conuinnce or alleadged liberty of Preests uich doe noe good."

"Fr. Christie (Douay) to Fr. Talbot (Rome) Nov. 1655.

"F. Gall did urite F. Grant uas free be the iurie bot in his last that some suspect he is not saue as yet. . . . F. Macbrek urites that Mr Barclay Supr. of the Scottish house came to him in great passion saying it uas writen be one from Rome to haue been related Mr Walker hade played fuge bellum, and prayed good correspondence should be kept, and not calumniat. good F. Macbrek should haue urged him name the man, so it is like to haue been writen, or that Mr Barclay imagined to be a Jesuit. if you could trie and knou the uriter their, Mr Lesly is suspected uho they say doe urite al. it is true the paying of 1200 lb uas ane euil praeparitiue for others, as uilbe knouen be time. . . ."

"Fr. Macbrek (Paris) to Fr. Talbot (Rome) Nov. 26. 1655.

"Mr Barclay, Superiour of the Scots Colige, the last wike made ane haue complent to me that it sould be wreting to

¹ James Gordon, minister of Rothiemay, 1641-1686, best known as author of *A History of Scots Affairs*, fifth son of James Gordon of Straloch.

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Roume that Mr Waker had playet fuge bellum, laiuing his cautioner drounet in deats, so by his continens it apiret he suspaiks summe of ours to haue wretine that to Roume. I assouret him for anything I did know, non of ours wald wret in thes termes; so he prayet me that we wald liaue in good termis, and no to calomniat others; which I assouet him sould neuer comme from any of ours; and see who are calomniatours. And as for what Mr Wakir did he assuris me was with all the Catholiks wil and desayre, who ware all must willing to contribout for his cautione etc. I feare Mr Leslay the seculars agent there wrets hirther all he heares, and perhaps more, so lat us doe wel all, and be upon our gearde, and at ane dissayens with them all, for I see they haue us deadly suspectaet. . . . But I thinke what glas¹ them most is that F. Grant is comme free afe, and declared innocent by the circuit iuiges."

"Fr. James Anderson (Douay) to Fr. Talbot (Rome)
undated.

"Father Gal in his last wrot that a woman of marke went wp and down the streets of Eddinburghe only withe hir smoake upon hir, hauing hir waiting maide following with hir clothes, the mistres said I haue no sinne, I thinke no shame; a man also went in the same posture crying out with his bible under his arme, as the other hade, make use of your talents, watche and pray, they was of the secte called in thes partes quakers."

The same to the same. Sept. 7th 1655.

"Father Grant is owt off prison, bot deteined at Eddinburghe and obliged wnder the pain of 300 lb sterl. to compeare at ane call. many witnesses hathe been broght against him at seuerall tymes, what wil be the issue of that matter wee can not tel. Ye harde how, when he was taken with ane Irishe preist in Strathboggie, that another secular preist called Walker was also taken in Frendrecht, who beeing seek ther, was to be produced wnder the pain of ane 100 lb sterl. when-soeuer required. Fr. Gal writtes that Mr Bannantin hath chosen rather to pay the moneyes then Mr Walker be produced befor the iuge, whiche is thoght ane euil preparitife for the rest of the preists, albeit ovr secular preists be very busy, yet Fr. Gal sayes thay mare mor then they mend. Wee showld wishe F. George Lesly to be F. Gals successor, seeing he seemeth most fit to go wp and down to visit (whiche

¹ This may be a Macbrekian spelling of "galls."

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perchance others hathe not donne at least so muche as was requisit) besyd other qualities conuenient to that office. The frenche haue been maisters of the campagna this yeare, whiche makes ws suffer muche. they haue taken Landresy and tuo other good postes, how muche farder progresse they wil make tym wil show. We understand that owrs in Scotland is labouring very weel, and what is solid be doune by them."

Although Father Christie wrote with bitterness about the Seculars in Paris, he is always fair to those who went to the Mission, and he gives due credit to Mr Ballantyne and his companions for the work they were doing in Scotland¹ :—

Fr. Christie (Douay) to Fr. Talbot. (Rome) Apr. 5. 1655.

"The young tradsmen are much esteemed and spok of, yea hath possessed themselues of many pairts specially in the north, I heare, to mak ours open their eyes, and be more cairful. You knou betuix Logahabar the uast sea, Caithnes the North and to Aberdeen I hade (be the grace of God) gained and possest al those pairts for Catholiques, nou the change is great, God his uilbe done."

In a letter dated 25th September he gives a brief account of the distribution of the Jesuit Fathers in Scotland at this time :—

"F. Gall does uant of much done in the south, but it is requisite their be more nor uords, uich he doe use liberaly. F. Dempster may doe good in Edinb. or any priuat house bot not to trauel in the country. F. Rob staves uith the old Lady Nidsdael. F. Spreul uith Semple. F. Gall beside Beraik uith Sir James Douglas sone. F. Smith at Aberdeen, F. George doe trauel more than all. Could not Father Robert Ogilby be sent for out of Irland to Scotland to be in Angush being soe many Catholiques, and ueale disposed. F. Rob. F. Macbrek nor F. Gall Supers. neuer uisite the north."²

In reports sent to Rome the Seculars speak of "conversions," a term which was likely to mislead people in France and

¹ According to a letter, dated 18th November, 1661, written by Father Macbrek to Father Talbot, Mr Ballantyne intended to become a Jesuit; "Mr Balanting for certing is dead, at Elging wher he was honarably houset. he aquent me of his vocation to the Societe aboue 12 years ago, and now latlay going home to Scotland, withall desayret me to aquent both the Supr. and F. Gall."

² The meaning seems to be that Father Gall, like his predecessors in office, Father Rob and Father Macbrek, never visited the North.

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Italy, who were unfamiliar with the state of religious affairs in Scotland. Owing to the vigilance of the ministers and the vigorous enforcement of the penal laws, it was scarcely possible for a priest to meet with any but Catholics, or with those who, outwardly conforming, were still Catholics at heart. The number of reconciliations was undoubtedly large; the number of converts probably small. That Father Gall, who was stationed in the south, regarded the successes of the Seculars in the north and north-east with a somewhat childish jealousy is evident from Father Macbrek's letter of 15th January, 1655:—

“I see by what Fr. Galle wrets ther is not so much performed by thes seculars as they take of, and what they wret is of the montaniaers, who as they are easely gayned, so ar they seone peruerted, nether sayes he, heare they much of great conuersions, sauing of chrisning of somme children, the solid and substantial good done ther is, says he, praised be God, effectuated by ours. . . .”

In a letter written a year later, on the 4th February, 1656, Father Macbrek mentions a discussion on the subject of the Scottish mission which took place at the Vincentian headquarters in Paris. These missionary conferences were first organised by St Vincent de Paul in 1633. It is probable that St Vincent was present at the meeting to which Father Macbrek refers:—

“I see the seculars pristis are not slaiping, for they are indeuoring to haue part in all the enterpraies; for now presently Mr Barclay hes giuen in that relation Mr Walker hes send to Roume, of the conuersion in the North by them; to thes Messeiours heere in Paris, that helpis all our missions of the Societe; and of whome I had optinet 400 lb. for Scotland, Hylands and Yaels, as ane almaies yearly. I hard that relation read (for I was present with two other of our Fathers, proquorators of other missions, Constantinopil and the Martinaike). . . .”

The “relation” in question must have been the report to which I have already referred. Father Macbrek complains in this letter that the Seculars were taking credit to which they had no right, and that they gained converts by allowing them to frequent heretic services:—

“God knouis ther was sondry other things which I could refutaet, but because seculars wald be but scandalisaet, I

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thocht best not to spake nothing, yet I leaue not to aquent ours of all. So your Rns. must deal very cannaly in this mater, for I see they take acceptions of all we saye or dow. . . .”

On the 28th of January, 1656, Father Macbrek wrote a long letter to Rome, protesting against the leniency shown by the Secular priests towards Catholics who had outwardly conformed to the demands of the Presbytery :—

“What Mr Waker douis wraet from Scotlant, or from Paris, where he is comme 3 or 4 months ago I pray all be treu, yet F. Maxuel, who as I wreat to your Rns. in my last, departet from hens the 18 of this, assouret me, that in Scotlant ther is not so much tailke and roumour of all thes conuersions as the seculars bragaes, for many of thes great personnes, of the which they brag so much, ware all amost disposaet to ther hands by others first. As for exemple the familie of the Lard of Droume, which reseauet the first instructions by our Father Smith. Lord Charles Gordon of Abony had his first instructions of our Father Cresty. And for the Earle of Kenouyel I hard 6 yeares ago of ane Franche Marquis, Catholique, with whome he camme to Edinbrocht disgaisaet as his page, after the execution of Montrose, who at that tyme did assoure me that Kenouel was Catholicke; and thers gaiuing uaye to frequent heretical sermons, specially thes they admit, makes ther noumber to be the more numerous, I pray all proue constant, they admit.

“And as for thes Catholiques that had gaiuen publike scandal, in subscrauing the Couenant, I know in my tyme, how Mr Balenting had reseauet both my Lord Marques of Douglas, and his brother my Lord Mordington at Aberding, the 51 yeare of God, when our King was in Scotlant; and they bothe therafter went to the Church; and I myselfe told therafter to my Lord Mordington, being in his Lady hous, at castel Sempel, that I winderet how any could admit him to his Sacraments, not gaiuing satisfaction for the poub-laike scandal of subscrayuing the Couenant, with ane promis no more to frequent heretical sermons; and I assouret his Lordship that I sould nauer gaiue him his Sacraments forout that promis; and all the ansouer he gaiue me then was, it sould being so; moreouer it was wel knoine how frequently my Lady Marques of Douglas was admittet to hir sacrements by that same personne for all hir frequenting of the Church, and lating all hir dochters be bread puritanically. And after

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I did frequent that hous, Mr Crichton, of whome your Rns wret to me in your last, who now hants no more that hous, because of the reports that gois constantly of him, as I did wret to your Rns: and now presently I went to the Scots Collige and did read what Fr Galle wret to me the 18 of December last, which was; assure Mr Barclay that non of ours wret to Roume, as he alleges of Mr Waker, only wee all heere haue iust occasion to regret the bad president & preparatiue Mr Waker hath giuen, in paying so much monyes to comme off free, for this wil make them the greedier to ensnare, or cache us all etc. Desyre him for ther credit, and ours, to see how to gett Mr Crichton out of this, and remoue open scandall. This much I did read to him in presens of Mr Waker, to which he replayet nothing, but that he was cumming from thens. So I see ther is fundament of Mr Crichton scandal. of all what I haue wreting to your Rns. make your oune us. And as to the Capushing (alias) Leslay of whome the Bishope of Fermo did wret so much, and that in prent: and to all thes that know the partikulars, was ane moking stok; so all that is wretine is not Scripture. . . . this all kaipe to yourselfe & make your owne use. . . .”

In describing the book written about the adventures of Capuchin Leslie as “ane moking stok,” Father Macbrek has used just the right phrase. A great deal of ink has been wasted over George Leslie, known as Father Archangel, or Il Capuchino Scozzese. A work purporting to give the history of his missionary life in Scotland was composed in 1644 by Mgr Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo, who was afterwards Papal Nuncio in Ireland. The object of writing this romance was probably to arouse among the Catholics on the Continent some interest in the Scottish mission. The book may be regarded either as a late example of mediæval hagiography, or an early specimen of the historical novel. It appealed to the popular taste, which always seems to prefer fiction to history, and a large number of editions in French and Italian were published abroad during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Among other absurdities the Capuchin is represented as claiming to have converted more than 3000 people in the neighbourhood of Monymusk, a small village 20 miles from Aberdeen. Such ignorance of local conditions in Scotland shows that the book could not have been written or inspired by Father Andrew Leslie, as was suggested by Abbé Macpherson. The Scottish Jesuits were very much annoyed at its publication.

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Fr. James Anderson wrote on 20th April, 1654:—

“The relation sent to Father Thomson by the Dominicans seemeth very absurde, for I ame farr deceaued if ther bee 4000 Catholiks in all Scotland.”

An extract from a letter written on this subject by Father Christie was printed in the *Scotichronicon*, with the wrong date, and various inaccuracies; the correct text is as follows:—

Fr. Christie (Douay) to Fr. Gordon (Rome) 29. Dec. 1653.

“I hade 2 of youres of ye 12 and 26 of October, both almost of one subiect, as to Capucine Leslyes Life it is expedient wee quite us of that censure or information seing it is odious, and the rumor is that al those in our country Catholiques and haeretiques uho did knou him uare scandalised of that first book, which I uish hade not been printed and diuulgat, nor that ane other be put out, seing it uil more aggrauat, and augment the rumore of untruthes soe my opinion is, their be no more made, or amendet tooching that subiect. F. Thomson can sufficiently inform, he was zealous bot for the rest I uil not urite. he dyed in his motheres poor hous iust ouer ye river Die against the mil of Obein, and I beleeeue was buried in ane old ruinous Church in the uay betwix that and Kanakyle or Hunthal. (I send him befor his death 10 Jacobus in necessity I hade from my Lady Marquess).”¹

¹ “The Marquis of Huntlie . . . built a house at Kean-kaill, upon Hunt-hall or Dee, called the Newhou” (Robert Gordon, *Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland*, Edinburgh, 1813, p. 231). A single gable of the “old ruinous church,” where Archangel Leslie lies buried, still stands on the banks of the Dee in what is now the parish churchyard of Glen Tanar.

I am not sure whether Father Christie would have expressed amusement or indignation if he could have foreseen the remarks about Rinuccini’s book which were written nearly two hundred years later by a well-known Scottish historian. Dr Joseph Robertson (1810-66), part founder and editor of the Spalding Club, described the story of the Scottish Capuchin as one result of the effort made “by the Romish Church for the restoration of her mpure rites and ungodly tyranny”; and he added that the book was “an exhibition of one of the thousand lying legends by which the Popish priesthood have at all times and in all countries sought to prop the decaying fabric of their idolatrous impostures.” Dr Robertson also suggested that it was in order “to make way for the perusal” of works of this sort that “the Popish priesthood have put their impious prohibition on the reading of the sacred Scriptures” (Robertson, *History of the Reformation in Aberdeen*, pp. 73, 74, 86, Aberdeen, 1887). A detailed account of the legend was given by T. G. Law in *Scottish Review*, July 1891, and *The Nineteenth Century*, November 1893.

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A few months after Mr Walker arrived in Aberdeenshire, James Irvine, son of the Laird of Drum, returned home from Douai, where he had been at school since January, 1647.¹ At the Castle of Drum Mr Walker found a safe refuge, and its owner became his staunch ally and friend. This friendship, known only to a few contemporaries, is an important fact in the history of the Catholic Church in the North-East of Scotland. It has remained, until the present time, Mr Walker's secret.

Alexander, the tenth Laird, had succeeded to his father's patrimony in 1630. He was a strong Loyalist, and had always refused to sign the Covenant, though constantly harassed by the Presbytery, "cleansed" by the soldiers of Argyle, and subjected to all the current forms of peaceful persuasion short of exile and total confiscation. This loyal Scottish gentleman, shrewd of tongue, clever with his pen, as his letters show, is a pleasing contrast with most of the dukes and lords who discredited the Scottish nobility of the seventeenth century. The character and personality of the tenth Laird delighted Andrew Lang² :—

"Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum being bullied by Mr John Row and the Presbytery of Aberdeen, in the old way, for saying 'if the monarchy be gone, let the devil take the Presbytery' appealed to Colonel Overton, Commander in Chief within the said Presbytery of Aberdeen. Monck, in 1651 had prohibited the civil magistrates from molesting excommunicated persons, or seizing their goods, or boycotting them. Thus the great and galling curse of Scotland, Presbyterian excommunication, was removed by English soldiers. . . . Drum also appealed to Monck against the proceedings in which he was charged with popery . . . 'let me not be troubled with such papers, that are but undigested rhapsodies of confused nonsense.' Blessings on the name of Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum ! What had long needed saying this gentleman said."

Sentence of excommunication had been threatened against the Laird and Lady of Drum for refusing to sign the Covenant and for being Papists in disguise, "resetting of papists frequently and ordinarily within your house, and haunting of

¹ Jacobus Irvinus, 17 annorum, ad figuras, ex parentibus Alexandro de Drum equite aurato et Magdalena Scrymsour de Deedip [Scrimgeour of Dudhope]. 22 Junii 1650 abiit in Scotiam (*Douai Diary*, 1647).

² *History of Scotland*, III, p. 264.

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your companies." In the same charge were included by name James Irvine, son to the Laird, and Anne, Elspet and Jane, his daughters. The servants were also warned to answer the general accusation against the household of Drum, "especially John Macewen."

The Laird evaded any public denial of the crime of Popery, but he wrote to Monck on 2nd January 1651: "Col. Overton will be my witness that if Mr Cant and the rest of the ministers would give me a private conference before him, I would clearly purge myself of that in any way he or they can imagine, which the Presbytery absolutely declined with such violence, as if their authority were by an immediate vocation from heaven."

He wrote to Mr Row, Moderator of the Assembly at Aberdeen:—

"... as for your Papatus politicus that is mentioned in your Pasquil I wish you take notice that I disclaim both Ecclesiasticke and Politick Popery, which I am jealous ye go about to insnare me in, by pressing infallible beleif to an humane institution."

The Presbytery refused to accept any conditions, and imposed the sentence of excommunication. In his protest against this sentence, Irvine declared his intention: "to walk and live in such a christian way and gospel as is conform to the Divine will and sacred word, and nought prejudicing to the peace of Gret Britains commonweal of which I am a member."

The interest aroused by this bold attack on the Kirk, an audacity previously unheard of, created at the time a great sensation. For generations no one had dared to stand out against the Scottish Inquisition. A copy of the Laird's letter to the Presbytery came into the hands of Whitlocke, who included a great part of it in his *Memorials*.¹ The popular weekly newspaper, entitled *Severall Proceedings in Parliament*, gave seven pages out of a total of sixteen to his correspondence with the Aberdeen Presbytery (No. 122, 22nd to 29th January 1651).

Analysis of Mr Walker's book shows that he was on very friendly terms with the Laird of Drum in spite of the fact that no names, either of men or places, are mentioned. The evidence for this is unexpected, interesting, and conclusive. Few historians have paid sufficient attention to the

¹ Vol. III, p. 525 *et seq.*

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long letter written by Alexander Irvine to the Aberdeen Presbytery in reply to the formal excommunication. Small wonder that the Covenanters were enraged with the Laird of Drum; never had any one dared to address them in such an outspoken fashion. Arguments presented with great literary skill and pointed with an irony sharp enough to pierce even the thickest hide, backed up with scriptural texts and emphasising the new powerlessness of the Presbytery, were well calculated to arouse the fury of men whose favourite dialectical weapon had long been insolence supported by armed force:—

“I do not take you for prophets,” wrote the Laird, “or that you have any extraordinary divine revelations; the whole country now see by experience that many, if not all, your bragging prophecies concerning the setting up and prosperity of your Presbyterian court, which you would have all men adore as an Idol, have proved very false . . . ye yourselves spent only much wind, albeit ye made others spend much money, of which I have found as doleful an experience as any on in this nation,¹ but now by Gods just judgement ye have reaped a whirlwind. Your prosperity did blind you, and it was ever the strongest argument ye used (except pike and musket) that did shut your bowels against all compassion. I pray God now your eyes may be opened, and that ye may make good use of your humiliation, lest it be said of you that you are humbled but not humble.”

This letter, a forcible statement of the argument against Presbytery as conducted by the Covenanters in 1650, is identical in matter, and in some parts in the form of words used, with passages which occur in Mr Walker's book, *Presbyteries Triall*. So close is the similarity of phrasing that it is certain that Mr Walker must have helped the Laird to compose his trenchant attack upon a common enemy. A few specimens of both writings placed in juxtaposition will make this clear:—

IRVINE, OF DRUM²

“I therefore upon these principles do not at all fear that which ye call the dreadful sentence of excommunication. For either ye are infallible in your proceedings and

PRESBYTERIES TRIALL (p. 41)

“They professe, that every particular Church is fallible, and so consequently their owne; as their frequent changes, and manifest experience do show. Therefore

¹ He was twice fined in £4000 sterling, his house of Drum four times garrisoned and at length totally plundered, and his wife and children turned out of doors (Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, II, p. 211).

² J. F. Leslie, *The Irvines of Drum*, Aberdeen, 1909.

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IRVINE, OF DRUM

judgements, or ye are fallible ; the first I think ye will not arrogate to yourselves, for that were the highest point of Popery, albeit ye often practice in deeds what ye deny in words."

"In your Solemn League with your Presbyterian brethren of England ; whereby ye enforced all men to swear to establish by arms that tyranny there, as ye had done here . . . and the severity of the civil law falling upon them, depriving men of their estates, to swear and subscribe to all ye enjoined or could invent, albeit ye knew them to be of far contrary judgement . . . by which means ye have made the nation guilty of horrible perjury, besides many other heinous sins."

"For the tenderness of the presbytery's goodwill towards me, whereof you make mention in the end of your letter, I willingly accept it ; for there is none that shall overcome me in kindness ; but I wish ye had not used me so harshly heretofore when ye had power both of Kirk and State in your hands, which I trust in God ye shall never have again, by enforcing my servants, when all other means failed, to prove your vain inquisition, to reveal upon their oaths what they knew, saw, or heard within my house. . . ."

PRESBYTERIES TRIALL

I judged they did very inconsequentially in exacting so rigourously an undeniable obedience, with oaths, to a fallible and perhaps an actually erring Church . . . they inveigh often against implicit faith, as Popish and Anti-Christian ; yet themselves do practice it in a most grosse manner ; and very inconsequentially . . . they practice in deeds, what they renounce in words."

"Moreover the Presbyterians have fallen into a third more gross and inconsequential error, concerning this implicit faith. For they have forced many, not only to swear and subscribe such things whereof they were ignorant, but also such things which the Presbyteries themselves knew to be against the expresse knowledge and Consciences of the Swearers and Subscribers ; which is to force men to sin . . ." (p. 42).

"Moreover the Presbyterians pressed all Noblemen and Barons to receive into their houses, Chaplaines of their choosing or approving ; to say unto them extemporary prayers. But one of their employments, and that not the least, was to observe what they heard, or saw, spoken or done, against Presbytery and the blessed work of reformation (as they call it) and to make a true relation of all their observations to the Presbytery ; upon which depended their preferment to a Church. And when any of these Chaplains seemed not to be faithful enough in giving these relations, the Presbytery would sometimes summon other servants to depose upon oath, what they knew, spoken or done in the family against Presbytery . . ." (p. 30).

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These quotations show that Alexander Irvine wrote his reply to the Presbytery in conjunction with Mr Walker, who had probably gone straight to Drum immediately on arriving in Aberdeenshire, and made his permanent headquarters at the Castle.

Father Christie refers to Mr Walker being at Drum in a letter written on 2nd January, 1655 :—

“I regrate much they [*i.e.*, the Jesuits] haue losed the house of Huntly, and young men Mr Balentin and Walker possessing it, and the house of Drum.”

Mr Walker and the Laird, sitting in the priest's room in the old Castle of Drum, must have found a certain grim amusement in the preparation of the literary onslaught upon an enemy they both had so much cause to detest. I feel sure, though of course it cannot be proved, that the “servant” John Macewen, specially singled out by the Presbytery in their first threatening letter to Drum, was Mr John Walker.

The reference in *Presbyteries Triall* to a Chaplain provided for extempore prayer, who had not proved “faithful enough in giving relations,” seems to point to the minister of Drum, Mr John Gregory, known ten years earlier to be “of principalls opposite to the Covenants,”¹ who subsequently yielded to the peaceful picketing of the Presbyters. He was brought into Aberdeen

“be ane pairtie of soldiouris. He wes takin out of his naikit bed vpon the nicht, and his hous pitifullie plunderit. He was cloislie keipit in skipper Andersonis hous, haveing fyve mvskiteiris watching him day and nicht, and sustenit vpon his awin expenssis . . . and when all wes done, he is forsit to yeild, cum in and subscribe. . . .”²

Spalding says that Mr John Gregory, upon swearing and subscribing the Covenant, was with great difficulty restored to his own Parish Church. At a visitation of “the kirk of New Abirdene” on the 6th of September 1642, Mr Johne Gregorie “teichit most lernidlie vpon the 4th verss of the 2nd chepdour to the Collosians.” [“Now this I say, that no man may deceive you by loftiness of words”], a good text this for Mr Cant, who, “sitting besyde the reidar, as his vse wes, offendit at this doctrein.” The dispute between the two ministers was settled

¹ *Scots Affairs*, III, p. 198.

² *Memorialls of the Troubles*, I, pp. 279, 280.

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"be mediatiouns of the toune's balleis at a covp of wyne . . . with small credet to Cantis bussines."¹ But Cant got the better of his opponent in the end. Mr Gregory was maintained for a time at Drum, but he was not the sort of man to play the spy.² A few years later when Sir Alexander was excommunicated, the sentence had to be pronounced in the Church at Aberdeen, as the parish of Drumoak was vacant.³

Such was the fanaticism against which the Laird of Drum protested in his letter to the Synod of Aberdeen. A touch of humour is imparted to the whole affair by the fact that the enemy had no idea where their adversary was getting his ammunition. The ministers probably never realised how thoroughly they had been checkmated by a trafficking Papist.

Was the charge of Popery brought by the Presbytery against the Laird of Drum justified by the facts? The question has not always been answered in the affirmative. Though Gardiner⁴ wrote that the Laird had been a secret Catholic for many years, compilers such as W. Stephen,⁵ following in all probability Chambers's *Domestic Annals* (II, p. 179), assert that he was an Episcopalian. There is no doubt that Gardiner's answer is correct. Although Mr Ballantyne,⁶ writing in 1660, states that the Laird of Drum was "converted to the Faith" by Mr Walker, the conversion would be more accurately described as a reconciliation. Father Christie, in a letter dated 31st May, 1657, addressed to the Rector of the Scots College, Rome, states that the Laird's conversion took place when the writer was in Scotland, probably between the years 1630 and 1640:—

"Old Drum is dead Catholique, uhom I instructed first many years agoe, also his elder sonne, and his Lady Mary ab infantia."

Drum was still a Catholic in 1647 when he sent his son James to Douai. He may have conformed outwardly under pressure from the Presbytery about the year 1650. He was

¹ *Memorialls of the Trubles*, II, p. 186.

² The quartering of ministers upon Catholic families had already been an established custom in 1594 (John Cunningham, *Church History*, I, p. 523). Hume (*History of England*, VII, p. 216) refers to the practice of setting Presbyterian chaplains as spies in families suspected of dislike of the Covenant.

³ *Eccles. Records*, p. 117, Spalding Club.

⁴ Gardiner, *op. cit.*, II, p. 56.

⁵ Stephen, *History of the Church in Scotland*, II, p. 320.

Mr Ballantyne's letter is in the Propaganda Archives.

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reconciled in 1651 when Mr Walker was at Drum Castle, and helped him to compose his reply to the Presbytery. The following account of this reconciliation is given by Mr Ballantyne in the above-mentioned letter to Propaganda :—

“For after he had converted the very noble Baron of Drum to the faith, and was exposed to a fierce persecution by the heretics, so that he could hardly in any way be saved from imminent danger, I persuaded him to retire to Paris. There for a time he employed himself in publishing the reasons, by which that illustrious gentleman had been led to embrace our faith, reasons which, printed in book form, are, in the opinion of many, calculated to influence many minds.”

The Preface to *Presbyteries Triall* says that the book was written at the request of

“a certain honourable personage who had been a very zealous Protestant . . . till at length falling into the acquaintance of a Roman Catholic . . . he was instructed . . . and desired the said Catholic would be pleased to draw up in some few sheets the occasion and motive of his conversion.”

Though Mr Ballantyne and Mr Walker in their letters write of the Laird of Drum as if he had never been a Catholic, and give no credit to the Jesuit Fathers who had converted the whole family many years before, and though Mr Walker even describes him in *Presbyteries Triall* as a “zealous Protestant,” there is now no doubt that the “honourable personage” so disguised is the Laird of Drum. Mr Walker’s secret has been well kept, not only from the Presbytery, but from posterity.

CHAPTER IX

COVENANTERS AND CATHOLICS

The second part of Mr Walker's book—The Scottish Covenant examined—The flight from Popery—Abolition of the Lord's Prayer—The "fabulous-like circumstances" of John Knox's *History*—A great Apostle of the Covenant—The "distinction" of Dr William Guild, D.D.—Mr Walker retires to Rome, aged, and in bad health—He is allowed to die there in poverty—Some reasons why the Catholic Reaction failed in Scotland.

THE second part of Mr Walker's book, entitled *A Little Touchstone of the Scottish Covenant*, was written, says the author, "with the assistance of my above-mentioned Catholique friend . . . we had divers conferences, and he was also pleased to write some papers on this matter, for my contentment, out of which I will make a brief collection of some principal observations." This part of the work is divided into sections, each of which begins with a quotation from the Covenant, and is followed by an analysis and a critical argument conducted with a literary skill not often found in the controversial work of the period. Mr Walker makes his points with a vigour and a logic which must have been very disconcerting to such of his opponents as were capable of following the discussion in an even temper of mind. The theological side of the argument follows, of course, the orthodox Catholic line, and could have made no more impression upon the Presbytery than it can do at the present day. Controversy between parties who cannot agree upon first principles must always be futile, but the historical facts of the situation as presented by Mr Walker could not be denied.

The assault on the position taken up by the Covenanters is conducted with great spirit. In section 3 of the *Little Touchstone* the text of the Covenant is quoted as follows:—

"... the true Christian faith and religion . . . received, believed, and defended, by many sundrie and notable Kirks and realms; but chiefly by the Kirk of Scotland . . . and now of a long tyme hath been openly professed by the Kings Majesty, and whole body of this realm. . . ."

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To this declaration Mr Walker boldly replies :—

“Where are all these many notable Realms and Kirks, which you affirm do professe your religion? For Swedland and Denmark are known to be Lutherians who have neither Unity of faith with you nor Communion in Sacraments. The Realme and late Church of England maintained the Hierarchy of the Church, abhorring very much the Anarchy of your Presbytery . . . so that the many Notable Realms of your religion are as yet invisible, unless you would count all those to be of your religion, who are not Papists, or who go under the general name of Protestants. But that cannot be done; for the Universality of a Church requires Unity in faith. . . . And therefore, knowing that you want this Unity, you wisely pretend that this faith which you so much praise is *chiefly* professed by the Kirk of Scotland. For every one of you pretends to be chief and will not yield to another.

“Then you come as little speed of your Antiquity. For all the long time that your faith was profest, from the beginning of your Reformation to the first making of the Covenant, is but about 20 years, and as yet to this day it has not past the bounds of one Age. if you had the Universality and Antiquity of the Catholic Church, how would you glory, when you make such a stirre with your fewnesse and Noveltie?” (pp. 427-9).

Mr Walker realised that provincialism was at once the strength and weakness of the new religion, and that the Covenanters had acquired an exaggerated notion of the importance of their nation, and their sect, both in this world and the world to come. This notion and the determination of the ministers to purge themselves of the last remnants of “popery,” led some of them to extremes which their descendants to-day look back upon with astonishment. The fact that in “advanced” pulpits the personal inspiration of the preacher was regarded as preferable to the most primitive of all Christian prayers provided Mr Walker with an argument :—

“A minister in Galloway did glory (as I was assured by a person of known honesty) that he had banished out of his parish two Idols to witt Our Father etc., and God of all Glory and Peace etc., which was a short grace that was said ordinarle after meate . . . but as that person to whom this Minister spoke, answered him well, saying: If you have banished these two which you call Idols, I feare you shall bring in worse

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Idols in their place. So it fell forth . . . as Tertullian said well of our Lords prayer that it was short in words but large in senses; so the contrary may be said, not unjustly, of the Presbyterians extemporaray prayers; that they were large in words, but very short of sense. And this was the Noble exchange that we made" (pp. 75, 76).

The attempt to get rid of the Lord's Prayer as being too reminiscent of "popery" is referred to by James Gordon, Parson of Rothiemay:—

" . . . sett formes of prayers in publicke beganne to be dis-haunted by all; and such as used then wer looked upon as not spritwall eneuch, or as not weall affected to the worke of reformatione. The Lordes Prayer lyckewayes beganne to grow out of fashione, as being a sett forme."¹

Mr Walker goes on to give some account of the discussions about this strange fanaticism which took place among his Catholic friends:—

"I admired much when a Catholique friend shewed me that the Waldenses defended an error just contrary, in this matter, to the Presbyterians; for they maintained that no other forme of prayer was to be admitted except our Lords prayer, as may be seen in Gualterus. . . . But the same friend made another observation on this matter, which seemed to be more smart. For after he had shown me a ridiculous story, which is related towards the end of the Preface to Mr Knox's Chronicle, with many fabulous-like circumstances, and which thereafter I found (not without some admiration) to be repeated in Spotswoods new history: how there fell forth a great dispute and trouble among the Doctours of St Andrews, a little before the reformation; whether Our Lordes Prayer should be said only to God; or if it might be said to the Saints also? now said he, this fable, by Divine providence, is truly turned on your Presbyterians, for they will not have our Lords prayer to be said, neither to God nor the Saints . . ." (pp. 77-8).²

¹ Gordon, *Scots Affairs*, Vol. III, p. 250.

² The story of the discussion at St Andrews, ridiculous, as Mr Walker rightly calls it, is on page lix of the Edinburgh (1790) edition of Knox's *History*. Among the "fabulous-like circumstances" related on this page, to which Mr Walker refers, is the famous tale of the Bishop of Dunkeld, who "confessed truly that he never knew anything of the old or new testament." Spottiswoode repeats this also in his *History of the Church of Scotland*:—

"Dean Thomas Forrest had been called before the Bishop of Dunkeld his

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Another of the old Christian prayers which advanced Covenanters regarded as a remnant of popery was the "Glory be to the Father," although this prayer, says the Parson of Rothiemay, "had been constantly in use in the church since the reformation."¹

Mr Walker tells the following curious story illustrating this phase in the Presbyterian flight from popery :—

"There was one thing which happened in this matter not unworthy of remark and is very familiar throughout the country ; for while the people of a Parish in Angus were singing at the conclusion of a psalme, Glory to the Father, and to the Son etc., as not knowing of the new alterations ; they were presently interrupted by their minister, who cried aloud 'No more Glory to the Father, No more Glory etc.', which accident rendered the Presbyterians very ridiculous to the old Protestants."

The references made by Mr Walker to Presbyterian Church history are naturally of a kind calculated to throw an unfavourable light on the conduct of his enemies. Many of his stories are confirmed by contemporary records, and all refer to incidents which must have been common knowledge throughout the north-east of Scotland. Invention or over-statement would have defeated the purpose of his book in a country where all the facts alleged could be checked by his readers.

ordinary for preaching every Sunday to his parishioners upon the epistles and gospels of the day, and desired to forbear, seeing his diligence that way brought him into suspicion of heresy. . . . the Bishop said, 'I thank God I have lived well these many years and never knew either the old or the new [Testament].'"

The anecdote, probably based on some pre-Reformation jest, first appears in its modern form in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, where it was discovered by Knox ; it is given in full, quoted from Foxe, by Calderwood as a typical example of Popish neglect of the Bible. This, with many fabulous-like circumstances, I found (not without some admiration) to be repeated in Dr John Cunningham's *Church History of Scotland*, Vol. I, p. 230, and also in Professor Herkness' *Cardinal Beaton*, p. 23.

In England the unhistorical character of this story was recognised at a very early date. A clergyman of the English Church, named Watson, who published in 1657 a small volume entitled *Historical Collections of Ecclesiastick Affairs in Scotland*, gave the Scottish brethren a modest lesson in the elements of historical criticism :—"What follows in Fox's Acts of a conference between the Bishop of Dunkeld and Dean Thomas Canon of St Colmes Inch I cannot judge, finding little or nothing about it in their own historians ; nor can I credit one particular of the Bishops stout saying, I thank God I knew nothing neither what the old or new testament was," p. 50.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 250.

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He tells of an incident at Aberdeen, which, he suggests with a mischievous humour, may help to explain why the ministers kept their churches closed at such times as they were not actually preaching :—

“ For, as the Presbyterian ministers generally teach that the Church is no more holy than any other place, nor no more reverence due to it except only when the Minister is preaching ; so a great Apostle of the Covenant taught that doctrine very eagerly in Aberdeen ; the fruit thereof did shortly thereafter appear. For a covenanting soldier of the Saints army was found, within a few dayes, in the Colledge Church of the town, in uncivil conversation with a woman, and being brought before the same Minister (as I was credibly informed), who did exaggerate the grievousnesse of the crime from the holynesse of the place ; he answered that there was neither preaching nor praying in the Church at that time ; by which he confounded the Minister. Now of a long time they keep their Churches shut both night and day, except only at such times as the Minister is to preach.” ¹

Mr Walker has preserved one other unpublished fragment of Scottish Church history which concerns the above-mentioned Apostle, who unfortunately cannot be identified :—

“ Our Presbyterians ordinarily abstain from the word Catholique turning it into universal. Beza calls it the vaine term Catholique. A great Apostle of the covenant shew both his envie and his anger at this word. For when a gentleman in the North, who had been summoned not long ago to give an account of his faith before the Presbytery of Aberdeen, had professed himself to be a Catholique ; the said Apostle was offended with that title, and willed him to call himself a Papist ; which he neglecting to do the Minister then enquired of him ; if the women of his religion called themselves Catholiques also ? Which question had such an uncivil sense (as he proposed it) that some of his more modest brethren, sitting in Judgement with him, shew, both by Countenance and words, their dislike of his uncivility ” (p. 383).

The principal motive which caused Mr Walker to write his book is suggested in a report to Propaganda (1655), where he denounces in vigorous terms the calumnious utterances of the covenanting ministers, especially as expressed in their

¹ *P.T.*, p. 366.

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writings, and states that he has been occupied, at the request of his Superior, in preparing a reply :—

“ The ministers not content with speech have of late been girding themselves up to write books, not for the building up of their own religion, but for the pulling down of ours. There has this year appeared at Aberdeen an extremely pernicious volume, written by a minister who styles himself doctor of Divinity, and who undertakes to show, not by mere arguments, but, as he says, by open proofs, and the testimony of the Catholics themselves, that the Apostolic See is Babylon, and all the Supreme Pontiffs from Boniface II downwards, Antichrists ; and with this object he has brought together all the vile passages he could find in writers like Aventinus, Benno, Parisius, and others, and has moreover miserably garbled and corrupted a number of citations from the writings of the Popes and various authentic histories. In the beginning of his epistle dedicatory, he owns, in the following words, that the occasion of his writing this book was the great increase of Catholics in Scotland ; ‘ at the time of so great a defection from the truth to Popery in this realm of Scotland, especially in the northern parts, if ever it was necessary for the servants of God to sound the trumpet (as Esekial saith) it is so now.’ ”

From this quotation the “ pernicious volume ” can be identified with a small octavo of 176 pages, a copy of which is in the Library of King’s College, bearing the following expressive title-page :—

“ Anti-Christ Pointed and Painted out in his true colours, or the Pope of Rome proven to bee that Man of Sinne, and Sonne of Perdition foreprophesied in Scriptures by the clear witnessing of Roman Catholics themselves ; who lived and died in the communion of that Church. By William Guild Doctor of Divinity and Preacher of Gods Word. Printed in Aberdene by James Brown 1655.”¹

Although Dr Guild’s book is a compilation of mutilated extracts from the works of Catholic writers, it also contains a few of the misrepresentations circulated by the Centuriators

¹ William Guild, 1586-1657, was educated at the New College, Aberdeen. (Now Marischal College.) After holding the post of Chaplain to Charles I, he signed the Covenant, and was made Principal of King’s College in 1640, to replace Dr William Leslie, who “ wold not hurt his consciens for worldlie meinis ” (Spalding, *Trubles*, II, p. 232).

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of Magdeburg and earlier polemist of the same family. The violently partisan and abusive character of the work precluded any direct reply. It is a specimen of immoderate and fanatical vituperation which is now, for the most part, happily extinct.

Some modern Scottish historians have written as if the issue between the Presbyterians and the Catholics had been publicly fought out in an intellectual arena. Dr Joseph Robertson said that William Guild "was one of the most distinguished men in the polemical warfare of the times."¹

Dr Guild's onslaughts cannot be dignified by the name of controversy. One sample of his work will suffice to show how he distinguished himself:—

"They crie up the holie Roman Church, Mother and Mistress of all other, yet justlie we may reply . . . that she is a mother indeed, but the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth, and so old indeed, but (as Esekial speaketh) old in adulteries and who because of her whoredoms (as the prophet Nahum speaketh 3. 4.) is the mistress of witchcrafts, whose skirts the Lord hath discovered upon her face, and will more and more shew the nations her nakedness, and the Kingdoms her shame, who at last shall hate the whore (as Rev. 17), make her desolate, eat her flesh, and burn her with fire, for strong is the Lord who judgeth her."²

To the Covenanters the word "Pope" was a synonym for the Devil, sin, antichrist, whore, dragon, and every other expression in their extensive vocabulary which suggested to them the idea of evil. Whether any individual Pope had been vicious or virtuous was not a question to be settled by history; it was already decided. Dr Guild and his friends regarded the idea of acquitting any Pope of a criminal charge to be as absurd as the notion of absolving Satan from sin.

Between William Guild's attack on, and John Walker's defence of, the old Church there is one distinction which time has made clear to every one. *Anti-Christ Painted and Pointed Out* could only be reprinted to-day as a polemical curiosity. *Presbyteries Triall* might be reproduced, for its original purpose, just as it stands; scarcely a word would have to be altered.³ The book has more than a controversial

¹ *Book of Bon Accord*, p. 226, Aberdeen, 1839.

² William Guild, D.D., *Noveltie of Poperie*, 1656.

³ Mr Walker repeats, on page 370, some of the calumnious stories about Calvin which had been circulated by certain Lutherans.

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interest ; it contains many historical references of considerable value, and it exhibits the learning, culture, and literary ability of a Scottish Catholic priest at a time when Catholicism in Scotland was almost at its lowest ebb.

Mr Walker's work was well known to the Scottish colony in Paris. The Jesuit Fathers had heard of it, and Father Adam Gordon, while at Paris on his way from Madrid to London, in March, 1656, wrote in a letter to the Scots College, Rome :—

“ Mr Walker is writting a book against Mr Guill, it must be a learned peece.”

The author, however, seems to have been treated with a certain coldness by the Congregation of Propaganda. The Secretary wrote to the Nuncio in 1656 to inquire whether it was true that Mr Walker was in Paris for the purpose of getting a book printed, and pointing out that if such were the case, publication could not be allowed without a Decree of Propaganda.¹ The Nuncio in reply, warmly recommended the book, and forwarded, in October, 1656, the favourable report given by the Doctors of the Sorbonne.² In September, Mr Walker wrote asking for licence to publish, and requesting that his annual pension should be paid to him as if he were still in Scotland. Although the Nuncio had written two months previously, explaining that the missionary had come to Paris with the permission of his Superior, after being imprisoned by the heretics, the request for payment of his pension was refused.³

He returned home towards the end of April, 1658, sailing from Dieppe in company with Mr Winster (*alias* Dunbar, Winchester, etc.), who afterwards succeeded Mr Ballantyne as Prefect of the Mission. Very little trace has survived of his subsequent work in Scotland. In a letter dated from Aberdeen, 16th July, 1665, and addressed to the Propaganda, he states that he had worked four years in that city, making occasional visits to Catholics in outlying parts of the County. In this letter he asks for books of controversy.⁴ In 1667 he was stationed at

¹ *Arch. de Prop. Fide*, Vol. 31, f. 28, 12th June, 1656.

² *Arch. de Prop. Fide*, pp. 297, 409, 410.

³ *Arch. de Prop. Fide*, Vol. 306, f. o, 57.

⁴ In a letter from Scotland, dated 28th February, 1662, Mr Walker asks for an English translation of a compendium of Baronius, and other controversial works, “because ignorance of ecclesiastical history is one of the chief causes of heresy in the British Isles” (*Arch. S. Cong. de Prop. Fide, Lettere Antiche*, Vol. 308, f. o, 13).

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Edinburgh, and the following year he wrote to the Agent in Rome, Mr William Leslie, asking to be allowed to retire on account of ill health. Instead of being granted leave to retire, Mr Walker was appointed Vice-Prefect during the absence of his Superior, now Mr Winster, on a visit to Rome. However, in 1671 he left Scotland and went to Rome, his health having completely broken down.

The author of *Presbyteries Triall*, with nearly twenty-five years' work to his credit, might well have expected to find in Rome a generous welcome, and a home where he could end his days in comfort. Some sort of effort seems to have been made at first to acknowledge his services, and make some provision for his poverty, for in September, 1672, he received a subsidy of fifty scudi from Propaganda, with a promise of further assistance, "owing to his extremely bad state of health."¹ A letter from Propaganda, dated 26th June, 1673, recognises the fact that he had deserved well of the congregation: "ha così lodevolmente servito la S. C. per lo spazio di 24 anni che merita ogni favore della Sacra Congregazione." The Abbé Macpherson says that he received fifty crowns yearly from Propaganda, but I can find no trace in the Archives of payment made after 1673. He was given a room in the College of Propaganda, was turned out of it by the Rector, but reinstated again by special order of the Cardinal Protector. The following three entries in the Acts of the Congregation, brief and significant, do not give an impression of generous recompense meted out to a faithful servant :—

"Un habito al Walchero. 1676. (155.4).

"Un altro habito al Walchero. 1678. (84).

"A. D. Giovanni Walchero un vestito. 1678. (84)."

In 1677 Mr Walker was reduced to borrowing a little money from Father William Leslie, S.J., the Rector of the Scots College :—

Fr. W. Leslie to Mr William Leslie (Agent). August 1677.

"Poore Mr Walker was thes dayes to borrow tuo or three pistols from me, being he getts nothing from the Propaganda to buy him shirts stokens wherof he hath great need. . . ."

He died in April, 1679, poor, friendless, and unnoticed. . . . Guiseppe Zambecchini, Archivist of the Propaganda, wrote to Mr William Leslie, then at Pesaro, on the 17th April :—

¹ *Arch. de Prop. Fide*, Vol. 59, f. 64.

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“I can give you no other news in this but of the death of poor Mr John Walker last Sunday, at 4 o'clock of the night, after receiving Extreme Unction, and on Monday he was buried in this College. . . . He was such a good man that we may hope he is in Paradise. . . .”

I know of no better comment on his life and death than the words of Canon Clapperton¹ :—

“Thus passed away in poverty and obscurity one who had sacrificed an honourable position and brilliant prospects in the cause of charity, and whose good deeds are almost only recorded where they are recompensed.”

In the correspondence of the Jesuit Fathers, and in the history of the return of an organised Secular clergy to Scotland, the fact most emphasised is the poverty of the missionaries, the seminarists, and the Catholic laymen both at home and abroad. Most of the Catholic families still left in Scotland when Cromwell came so unexpectedly to the rescue had been brought to a condition almost verging on destitution by the most compelling and successful of all the known forms of persecution. A process of excommunication which involved the gradual transfer of cash from Catholic to Presbyterian pockets, more humane than the stake, proved also more efficient in the making of converts than the thumb-screw, the rack, and other old-fashioned machinery for ensuring orthodoxy.

This poverty of the Scottish Catholics, and its real cause, are two facts which have not always been given sufficient prominence by Scottish historians. But that is a mild form of injustice compared with the explanation of the distress to which Catholics were reduced, given by Dr John Menzies to the Scotsmen of his time. This must be placed on record as an example of unfairness not easily equalled in all the miserable quarrels of mankind :—

“The consumptive estates of many families in which these men [the Jesuit Fathers] do nest, are a shrewd presumption thay pick purses as well as consciences” (John Menzies, *Roma Mendax*, p. 6).

But although an intelligent economic persecution, carried on for a hundred years, accounts to a great extent for the failure of the Catholics in Scotland to take full advantage of Cromwell's intervention, it should be recognised that for the

¹ MS. *Lives of Missionary Priests*

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weakness of the Catholic counter-attack, the Catholic body, as a whole, must bear some of the blame. Owing to slackness and inefficiency in the Scots colleges abroad, notably in Paris and Madrid, no trained reserves were available at the critical moment. The absence of proper support from the Continent made it impossible to take advantage of opportunity when it arrived; and the effort made by Mr Ballantyne came just a little too late.¹

Some responsibility for the sufferings of Catholic Scotland in the seventeenth century must also be attributed to the attitude of the French. If the interests of Richelieu had been more Catholic, if he had thought less of France and more of the Church, he might, by the threat of reprisals, have compelled the Scots to allow to the oppressed Catholics some fraction of the liberty granted at the time, and during the greater part of the seventeenth century, to the Protestants in France. It is true that Louis XIII subscribed for a few years a pittance of 1000 francs to support one or two religious in Scotland, and twenty years later St Vincent de Paul came generously to the assistance of the Scottish Catholics in the Highlands. But what the Catholics in Scotland needed was a political backing; this was what they should have had, but could not hope to attain from any of the three Cardinals who were, during the seventeenth century, the political leaders of France.

The most powerful factor in the failure of Scottish Catholicism at this time was, of course, the energetic anti-papal propaganda of the ministers, who succeeded in exciting a passionate hatred of Popery which, for long after, dominated, inspired, and directed the Christianity of the Scottish people. The nationalisation of this emotion had been a slow process, but after about a hundred years of almost unchallenged progress it had begun to take root in the minds of a generation

¹ Mr J. R. Elder (*Spanish Influences in Scottish History*, Glasgow, 1920, p. 76) suggests that the failure of the Scottish seminaries on the Continent was due to a lack of enthusiasm among the Catholic youth of Scotland, and he quotes in support of this view the opinion of Meyer, *England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth*:—"Lamentations over the small results from [the Scots College at Rome] and the other Scottish seminaries, constantly made themselves heard, while the not infrequent outbursts of insubordination among the alumni, and their unwillingness to pledge themselves by oath and devote themselves to missionary work in Scotland, clearly proves that in the land of John Knox it was far rarer to find enthusiasm for the Catholic Church . . . than in England, whence numbers of young men came to fill the continental seminaries to overflowing" (p. 117).

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which had lost touch with the traditions of Catholic days. "Trew Religion" in the schools, "Trew Religion" from the pulpit, had produced in course of time the desired result.

This anti-papal propaganda conducted through the school, the pulpit, and the university, misrepresented the history of the Catholic Church and its doctrines to an extent which cannot be realised by any one who has not read through the controversial literature of the seventeenth century. Books about the Roman Antichrist were probably read only by the learned few, yet in every pulpit throughout the land, in every school, and in every university this theory of ecclesiastical history, based on inaccurate information taken from second-hand sources, was taught as a truth, almost on the same level as the Gospel; was received with the same uncritical enthusiasm, was firmly believed by almost the whole population of Scotland, and is believed by a small section of die-hards in that country at the present day. In 1650, and for very long after, the protagonists of Presbyterianism used historical weapons a hundred years out of date, which had been fashioned by the Reformers in Germany at a time when the science of historical research was unknown. How far Scotland had fallen behind the culture of Europe can be realised from the fact that when Dr Menzies, Professor of Divinity at Aberdeen, was terrifying his fellow-countrymen with the bogey of a Roman Antichrist selling licence to commit murders and throwing babies into fish-ponds, Bossuet had begun to preach in Paris, and was collecting materials for his *History of the Variations*. In a country where education was directed and controlled by such men as Dr William Guild and Professor John Menzies, there was not much likelihood that religious discussions would be conducted with either dignity or intelligence.

Modern Scottish historians insist, often with a note of triumph, that there was never in Scotland the slightest chance of a counter-reformation. Yet the causes which account for the unchallengable supremacy of Presbyterianism in Scotland during the last three hundred years are not so creditable to Scotsmen as some of them still imagine. The ground captured by persecution was maintained and fortified by misrepresentation of the old Church. This misrepresentation, carried on in pulpit and school and university for so many generations, laid the foundations of an ignorant dislike of Catholicism which has lasted almost to the present day. The Jesuits and Seculars who have told their story in the Blairs Papers lived and worked

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in Scotland when this false anti-catholic tradition was in process of fabrication. They observed the process at work, and some of them realised, perhaps, the destructive power, and the great range, of the weapons that were being forged against them. But they were powerless to arrest the course of events. They could not hope to make a voice of protest heard in Covenanted Scotland. To keep through the evil times a small remnant true to the religion of their ancestors was the task they achieved. Under the circumstances no men could have done more.

It would be a mistake to suppose that the discord between the Seculars and Regulars proved during the Cromwellian period any serious hindrance to the revival of Catholicism in Scotland. Such secret jealousies and petty rivalries as are revealed in private letters were not allowed to appear on active service. Under the stress of war, or persecution such as the Catholics endured, minor dissensions and differences slip out of sight. Mr Walker, Father Grant, S.J., and "ane Irish Priest" were captured together in the Castle of Strathbogie. Mr Ballantyne, in a letter to Propaganda, dated 1659 or 1660, wrote that the Jesuits and Seculars worked together in harmony and good understanding.

Among the instructions issued to the Secular clergy through Mr Alexander Winster in 1657, when he was acting as Vice-Prefect in the absence of Mr Ballantyne, there is included a strong recommendation to avoid quarrels and disputes with companions on the mission, and to keep out of political discussions:—

"8. Perfect concord and union must be maintained with all colleagues on the mission, of whatsoever kind they may be, and all rivalry with them must be avoided, giving way rather than proceeding to public recriminations and scandals; warning, however, the Superior of anything that may take place.

"9. They must preach the Gospel of Christ, and not France or Spain; nor should they enter in any way into affairs of State, or incite the people to revolt, but exhort them to live in peace and patience, suffering persecution with Christian forbearance, and praying to God for their persecutors.¹

Yet in Paris, and in Rome, the quarrels continued. There

¹ "(Istruttioni per Sigr. Alessandro Winstero, Alunno del Collegio Scozzese, e Missionario nel regno de Scotia, alle 7 di Settembre, 1657)."

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must be something in the temperament of Scotsmen which makes it difficult for them to keep religious peace.

Among many outspoken letters on this subject, written by Patrick Con, after the Restoration, there is one from which I take a final quotation, even though it is nine years out of its place. Father Gilbert Talbot, S.J., whose real name was George Bisset, the Rector of the Scots College, Rome, had quarrelled with Mr William Leslie, Agent for the Secular mission. On hearing of this, Patrick Con, an old friend of both, wrote to try and restore peace between the two :—

P. Con (Paris) to Fr. Gilbert Talbot (Rome). 1669.

“ Let me take the same freedome with you as I haue done with him [Mr W. Leslie], and tell you both that you haue two hiland ill tempered heads, hotte befor & cold behind ; if they war betne togither in a morter & made ouer againe, you might perhapps become both of a more sober & quyet disposition. I hoppe that folly is now past & ye will be come yourselues. . . . I pray ye be true Aberdins men, & drink togither old Bonacord. . . .”

ROIT ME DEFENDANT ODIEU
SOIS MA DEFENCE.

ALA ROYNE
Les pauures de Gresy.

Nous recourons à toy Princesse conſummiere
D'ayder aux affligez que la miſere aſſault
A fin que noſtre eſtude ait l'aide qu'y faut
Pour chabber pauureté qu'y la veut mettre arriere
Car le Champ de Gresy de ſon vmbre hoſteliere
Ne nous donne logis, toutesfois il nous vaul
Pour viure eſchivement, lors que les traits du chaut
Sont dardex, & quand leau reſſemble vne verriere.
Ah! le fort ennemy, cela oſte la gloire.

Que nous auoit promis les filles de Memoire
Dont nous couchons ſouuent ſous le vuide de l'Aer.
Fais Princesſe, fais donc a vn eſcun congnoiſtre
Que tu es noſtre appuy, car nous deſirons eſtre
Tes humbles Eſcoliers, & ainſy nous nommer.

LA MVSE D'ESCOſSE

LES PAVVRES DE GRESY
EN L'VNIVERSITE DE PARIS

A PORTION OF THE ILLUSTRATED PETITION TO QUEEN MARY.
DESIGNED BY THOMAS WYNTERHOP.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

"THE BOOK OF GRISY"

THOMAS WYNTERHOP is unknown to most writers and readers of Scottish history. Dempster, the only Scottish historian who has mentioned his name, attributes to him the authorship of two books : *Moralis Philosophiæ Compendium* and *Apologia pro Epicuro*. (Th. Dempster, *Hist. Eccles. Gen. Scot.*, Vol. II, p. 665.¹)

Wynterhop's recovery of the place in Scottish history which he deserves for the important part he played in the restoration of the Scots College is due to the fortunate survival of a manuscript which was seen over fifty years ago at the house of Bishop Strain, in Edinburgh, by a representative of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. This official can only have had a short time to examine the document in question, as his description of it is not very accurate :—

"A Ms in folio upon vellum, consisting of 77pp. in the original stamped and inlaid binding, containing a history of the Scottish College at Paris, written by Thomas Wynterhop and dedicated to Patric Hepburn, Bishop of Moray and Commendator of the Abbey of Scone. The Charters which are here set out are authenticated by a notarial attestation. It further contains several addresses, letters, etc., to Mary Queen of Scotland, and is remarkable as containing one of the earliest and most authentic portraits of that Sovereign, executed in Indian ink with the inscription : Maria R. Scotiæ hæreditaria et Gallia usufructuaria. The drawing appears to have been executed in or about 1565. . . ." (*The Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*. First Report. Appendix, p. 121. London, 1870.)

The manuscript should be entitled *Liber Grisiensis*, or Book of the College of Grisy. (It was customary for Colleges in the University of Paris to keep a book wherein were entered copies of the statutes, charters, and other institutional documents.) *The Book of Grisy* was commenced by Wynterhop in 1565. The entries, other than the notarial copies, are in his own magnificent handwriting. Bound up so as to fold within the volume are three large illustrations of an allegorical character ; two of them represent the poor Scholars of Grisy presenting their petition to Queen Mary ; the third, measuring thirty-four by forty-eight inches, pictures the history, and sings in verse the praises of the University of

¹ In Gordon's *Scotichronicon* there is a vague statement that "a secular priest named Winterhassé" interceded with Queen Mary on behalf of the Scots College (p. 247).

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Paris. The verses incorporated with the design are written in letters of gold. The illustrations are drawn with great skill. They represent the last phase of a Scottish humanistic art which was suddenly and completely extinguished under the regime of John Knox. There is no "portrait" of Queen Mary in Wynterhop's book. The history of the Scots College which it contains consists chiefly in an account of the restoration effected by Wynterhop himself with the help of the Queen, which cost in legal expenses and repairs more than the original endowment. The following table of contents will show that this book has preserved many documents of historical value :—

"Table ou Repertoire, de tous les tiltres, Lettres, Enseignemens, Sentences, et Arretz, cy devant transcriptz, et enregistrez en ce present volume ; concernans la fondation de Gresy, avec ladmortissement dicelle, faict et octroyé par les treschrestiens Roys de France, pour les Escoliers Escossoys, estudians en l'Université de Paris : Autentiquez, et autorisez par monsr le Prevost de Paris Conservateur des privileges Royaulx de l'Université dudict lieu, selon ladvis et deliberation de Messieurs les Advocatx et procureurs d'Icelle en la court de Parlement, le tout par la sollicitation et dilligence de Maistre Thomas Wynterhop, procureur et l'un des Boursiers de ladicte Fondation.

ET PREMIEREMENT

Ledict advis, et Consultation diceulx Advocatx et Procureurs sur ce, faict le vingt cinqiesme d'Aoust Mil cinq cens soixante cinq	Folio 1
Les Lettres d'acquisition de ladicte fondation faicte par L'evesque de Morenne en Escosse datées de lan mil trois cens vingt cinq	Fol. 2
Les lettres d'admortissement de ladicte fondation octroyées par Charles quatriesme de ce nom Roy de France et de Navarre : datées de lan mil troys cens vingt et six	Fol. 6
Ung Bail du quinsiesme jour de Juing mil cinq cens quarante neuf, passé par devant Yves bourgeois et Francoys Crozon : narratif de L'alienation dicelle Fondation et enseignemens	Fol. 10
Une Sentence donnée du Prevost de Paris en faveur dudict Wynterhop, Contre Alexandre Lesque : Escossoys premier Archer du corps du Roy	Fol. 14
Une aultre sentence fort notable dudict Prevost de Paris, Dattée du troysieme decembre mil cinq cens cinquante sept En faveur dudict Evesque de Morenne et dudict Wynterhop Contre Maistre Robert Stroloche, suscité par ledict lesque pourveu et Introduit par L'evesque de Paris	Fol. 15
Une Commission donnée sur ladicte sentence du dix ^e dudict moys et an	Fol. 17
Une lettre de sommation suivant ladicte Sentence et Commission, executée par Jehan du pont Sergent a Verge. le vingt ^e dudict moys et an	Fol. 17 (verso)
Une aultre lettre par laquelle ledict Wynterhop a esté mis en possession de ladicte bourse : par vertu de ladicte Sentence, Executée le vingt ung ^{me} dudict moys et an	Fol. 18

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- Une Procuration en ample forme escripte en latin donnee par ledict Evesque de Morenne à sedictz Boursiers et obtenu par ledict Wynterhop le neuf^e de May mil cinq cens cinquante et huict Fol. 19
- Une aultre procuration en Latin donnée par ledict Evesque le cinquiesme de Juing audict an mil cinq cens cinquante huict. Et obtenu par Icelluy Wynterhop Fol. 22
- Item une procuration en Latin Donne'e par Maistre David Hendresson l'un desdictz Boursiers, audictz stuart et Wynterhop Et par luy obtenu le xxvi^e Jour de Septembre audict an Mil cinq cens cinquante huict Fol. 23
- Une Sentence donnee du Prevost de Paris en faveur desdictz Boursiers contre Alexandre de lesque du vingt trois^e decembre audict an. Et de laquelle il avoit appelle voulant Eoloquer Le proces au grand conseil suivant le Roy Fol. 24
(*verso*)
- Ung Arrest de la court de Parlement en faveur dudict Evesque de Morenne Et desdictz boursiers contre Maistre Simon lafitte scribe de ladicte Université de Paris du dernier Jour de Janvier audict an mil cinq cens quarante huict: Par lequel Arrest, les tiltres et enseignemens de ladicte fondation (qui ont esté long temps adirez) ont esté recouvrez par vertu desdictz procurations et dilligences dudict Wynterhop Fol. 26
- Item l'execution dudict Arrest et reception desdictes lettres faict aux Mathurins le dix feburier audict an mil cinq cens quarante huict. En presence de ladicte Nation d'Escosse et d'Allemagne et boursiers susdictz par la conclusion de laquelle Nation et consentement desdictz Boursiers Lesdictz tiltres et enseignemens ont esté mis au coffre d'Icelle Nation et Fondation dudict Gresy Fol. 27
- Une Requeste faicte et présentée par lesdictz boursiers a ladicte court de parlement contre ledict Alexandre lesque et par Icelle court respondue le xvi^e jour de Mars mil cinq cens cinquante huict Laquelle requeste est narrative de toutes les actions entre lesdictes parties deppendentes Fol. 27
- Ung aultre Arrest de ladicte court de Parlement suivant Icelle requeste donnee le deux^e de Septembre mil cinq cens cinquante neuf Par lequel Arrest faisant la fin du septieme proces et Jugement soustenuz et vuidez par la dilligence fraiz et poursuilte dudict Wynterhop lesdictz boursiers sont entrez en plaine possession et Jouissance de leur ferme et heritage de Gresy et mis hors de proces Fol. 28
(*verso*)
- Ung Bail a ferme du Septieme de Feburier audict an mil cinq cens cinquante neuf faict par lesdictes Stuart [et] Wynterhop et consors boursiers de ladicte ferme de Grisy au grand proffict de ladicte fondation Dont le revenue dicelle est a cause de ce que dessus augmenté de moictié qui est quatre vingtz livres tournois par chacun an Fol. 29
(*verso*)

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- Ung consentement et declaration du voyage dudict maistre Thomas Wynterhop de la ville de Paris Jusques en Escosse Et de sa dilligence esdictz proces par Maistre Jehan Stuart son comboursier du dix septieme Juillet mil cinq cens soixante et ung Fol. 33
(*verso*)
- Une procuration donnée du vingt sept feburier mil cinq cens soixante deux audict Wynterhop et maistre Nicholas thiersault maistre maçon a Paris de maistres jehan stuart jehan Scot et Jehan mathisson boursiers de ladicte Fondation pour visiter priser et estimer les Reparations tant faictes que a faire necessaires en leur ferme dudicte Grisy Fol. 35
- La visitation des reparations, faictes au paravant faicte par lesdictz thiersault et Wynterhop estenz de la part desdictz boursiers et Loys Jouvin Greffier d'Iceulx et autres a ce deleguez Fol. 36
- Le contrat portant quictances dicelles Reparations lesquelles ont este faictes par lesdictz Boursiers passé par devant notaires le sept^e d'Avril audict an v cens soixante deux Fol. 39
- La visitation des reparations non faictes et qui estoyent necessaires a faire en ladicte ferme faicte le lundi premier Jour de Mars mil cinq cens soixante deux par lesdictz thiersault Wynterhop et aultres qui y sont denommez Fol. 40
- Ung contract portant promesse et obligation entre lesdictz Boursiers et Jehan barbier leur fermier pour le parachevement desdictes reparations non faictes et parpaye d'Icelles du x^e Avril audict an mil cinq cens soixante et deux Fol. 41
(*verso*)
- Une Attestation du Voyaige dudict maistre Thomas Wynterhop de ceste ville de Paris Jusques en Escosse et de ses diligences durant lesdictz proces par maistres Jehan mathisson et Jehan Scot ses comboursiers faicte du x^e Juing audict an cinq cens soixante et deux Fol. 42
- Une aultre attestation du Recteur et Université de Paris narrative au vray des diligences dudict Wynterhop pour la Restitution des tres[ors] heritages et augmentation de ladicte fondation de Grisy du neuf^e decembre mil cinq cens soixante et quatre Fol. 44
- Une Consultation et advis des advocatz et procureurs de l'Université en la court appelez par le Recteur et deputez d'Icelle sur la possession de la bourse dudict Wynterhop dabtée dudict jour neuf^e decembre an mil cinq cens soixante quatre Fol. 45
- Une aultre attestation desdictz Recteur et Université de Paris des diligences dudict Wynterhop pour les affaires urgens de ladicte Université et Restitution des privileges dicelle par luy obtenuz du Roy Ladicte attestation dabtée du xviii^e decembre mil cinq cens lxiii Fol. 46
- Finablement lacte et attestation par laquelle appert les originaulx et lettres cy devant mentionnées Jouxte l'inventaire contenue sudict acte lesquelz ont esté remis dedans le coffre de ladicte nation et fondation dudict Grisy presence des

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boursiers et deputez de ladicte nation le tout a la requeste
et presence dudict Wynterhop et de Adrian Chappellin et
Jacques Chappellin Notaires En date du xxii Octobre mil
cinq cens soixante et cinq Fol. 47

Declaration, et Description de la tres-charitable et treslouable
Fondation de Gresi laquelle fut Judiciairement faicte et saintement
instituée, en la tresexcellente Universite de Paris. Pour les pauvres
escolliers Escossoys par feu de bonne memoire Reverend pere en dieu
Monsieur David Evesque de Mourray au Royaume d'Escosse, des lan
mil trois vingt cinq durant le Regne de Charles le bel Treschrestien
Roy de France et de Navarre Quatriesme de ce nom. Et par Icelluy
liberalement conferme amorti et ratifié. Et aussi les moyens cauteleux et
tresprejudiciables par lesquelz les Tiltres de ladicte fondation ont esté
furtivement perdus : Les maisons fort ruynées et les heritages quasi du
tout allienés par l'espace de cinquante ans C'est a scavoir Depuis mil
cinq cens et neuf Jusques en lan mil cinq cens cinquante neuf. Et
consequemment le discours et factum du proces et autres urgens affaires
de grandz fraiz extreme labeur et diligence continuelle Au moyen
desquelz lesdictz tiltres et heritages ont esté recouvez et lesdictz maisons
reparees. De tous lesquelz proces et aultres choses susdictes, les Sentences,
Actes principaulx et Arrestz, et memes lesdictz tiltres Reparations et
restitution de ladicte fondation sont icy devant transcriptz," etc., etc.

APPENDIX II

“NECROLOGIUM COLLEGII SCOTORUM PARISIENSIS”

This volume, a quarto of 151 pages, not numbered, contains :—

1. An Ordo giving directions for the reading of the *Necrologium*,
with the prayers that are to be said.
2. A list of Foundation Masses.
3. Notices of the deaths of persons connected with the College,
including founders, patrons, benefactors and former students.

Each page is framed in double-line columns in red ink. The left
column gives the day of the month, the right column the year. At the
head of each page is written the name of the month in large red capitals.
The book-plate of the College is pasted on the inside of the first board.
On the margin of the first page the following note is written :—

“Evidently commenced and finished in 1694, and afterwards con-
tinued and annotated by various hands.—G. A. G.” And in the same
handwriting at the bottom of the last page : “Huic opusculo quædam
trutina perbene cribrata subnexuit G. A. G. Collegii Stæ Mariæ de
Blairs bibliothecarius. 1846-52.”¹

¹ The Rev. George A. Griffin was a member of the Blairs Staff from 1846
to 1852.

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The only reference to this volume among the manuscripts at Blairs is in the *Short Narrative of the Scottish Establishment of Paris*, where Mr Farquharson states that having been lost during the confusion at the time of the French Revolution it was discovered in a grocer's shop.

As the Register of the Scots College, Paris, has been lost, no complete record of the students can now be made. The following names are those which are given in the *Necrologium* :—

- 1.—Commemoratio obitus D. ROBERTI WAUCHOP,
Archiepiscopi Armachani, hujus Collegii
quondam socii Jan. 2, 1551
- 2.—Obiit JOANNES STUART vir Rectorius hujus
Collegii quondam Socius May 6, 1581
- 3.—Obitus M. JACOBI LEITH viri Rectorii, et hujus
collegii quondam Socii Sept. 16, 1603
- 4.—Obitus JOANNIS FRASER Presbyteri, Viri Rectorii,
hujus Collegii quondam Socii. [Principal of
University, Paris] July 17, 1609
- 5.—Obiit Dominus GILBERTUS BRUNUS novi Monas-
terii et totius Scotiæ ultimus Abbas Catholicus,
quondam Socius hujus collegii May 13, 1610
[Bellesheim says he died at Paris in 1612.
Vol. III, p. 406.]
- 6.—Obiit GEORGIUS CRICHTON Professor Regius
socius quondam et Benefactor noster April 8, 1611
- 7.—Commemoratio obitus JOANNIS HENRISON Socii
quondam et Benefactoris nostri Dec. 4, 1638
- 8.—Obiit GEORGIUS GALLOWAY Presbyter canonicus
St Quintini socius quondam et Benefactor noster
[Gave a house in the Rue des Postes to the
Scots College in 1636.] Jan. 13, 1641
- 9.—Obitus ROBERTI PHILIP Presbyteri Reginæ
Magnæ Britanniæ a confessionibus et hujus
Collegii quondam socii Jan. 4, 1647
- 10.—Anniversaria Commemoratio Obitus PATRICII
GORDON de LETTERFURIE Presbyteri, Socii
quondam et Benefactoris nostri July 8, 1653
- 11.—Obiit GUILIELMUS FRASER socius quondam et
Benefactor noster Feb. 8, 1661
- 12.—Obitus THOMÆ CHAMBERS Presbyteri, socii
quondam et Benefactoris nostri March 8, 1661
- 13.—Obiit JACOBUS RAMSAY Presbyter socius quondam
et Benefactor noster July 6, 1683
- 14.—Obitus ÆNEÆ MACDONALD de GLENALADEL
Presbyteri missionarii in Montanis Scotiæ et
hujus Collegii quondam socii Dec. 27, 1683
- 15.—Obiit PATRICIUS CONNE Socius quondam et
Benefactor noster Nov. 21, 1694
(De Auchry et de Artrichy laicus et uxoratus
obiit Parisiis.)¹

¹ Note by G. A. G.

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- 16.—Obiit GEORGIUS GORDON presbyter missionis
anticæ in Scotia hujus Collegii quondam
socius May 29, 1695
- 17.—Obiit ALEXANDER LESLEY Presbyt. Morav apl
et socius n. April 26, 1702
- 18.—Obiit ROB. MONRO Presb. Mission. in Montan.
Scotiæ soc. quondam noster Jan. 17, 1704
- 19.—Obitus ALEXANDRI IRVINE presbyteri hujus
Collegii socii Sept. 16, 1706
- 20.—Obiit GEORGIUS [*sic*] ADAMSON presbyter
moraviensis missionarius Collegii hujus socius
et studiorum præfectus ¹ May 18, 1707
- 21.—Obiit in hac Domo LUDOVICUS JACOBUS GRAY
socius noster July 31, 1708
- 22.—Obiit REGINALDUS McDONNEL Diaconus Mora-
viensis hujus collegii socius July 4, 1711
- 23.—Obiit JOH. IRWIN Presbyter Decanus Cleri Miss.
in Scotia hujus Collegii socius et Benefactor . . April 19, 1717
- 24.—Obiit JOH. CARYLL junior de Ladyholl con-
victor quondam et benefactor noster miss.
fund. April 17, 1718
- 25.—Obiit Edinburghi JOANNES JOSEPHUS VEILLAN
clericus Santandreas, hujus Collegii socius Oct. 18, 1719
- 26.—Obiit ALEXANDER GORDON Presbyter, Sac. fac.
Parisiensis Doctor, hujus Collegii socius Nov. 30, 1724
- 27.—In hoc domo obiit JOANNES ARTHUR Aber-
doniensis, hujus Collegii socius Jan. 9, 1728
- 28.—In hac Domo obiit JOANNES DICKSON Accolythus
Santandreas hujus Collegii socius Aug. 31, 1728
- 29.—Obiit in Mont. Scotiæ PETRUS FRASER Miss.
Ap. Coll. hujus socius March 9, 1731
- 30.—Obiit Edinburgi R. in Christo Pater D. JOANNES
WALLACE Episcopus Cyrenensis Collegii hujus
socius June 30, 1733²
- 31.—Obiit D. JACOBUS CARNEGÝ Missionarius Apos-
tolicus in Scotia, hujus quondam Collegii
socius, Procurator et Benefactor-missa Jan. 14, 1735
- 32.—Obiit Venerabilis vir D. ALEXANDER DRUM-
MOND presbyter Glasguensis, Collegii hujus
socius missionariorum Cleri in Scotia Decanus
et protonotarius apostolicus, missionis anno 45^{to} . . May 25, 1742
- 33.—Obiit THOMAS INNES olim Coll. Propriarius
et stud. præfectus, antiquus miss. et socius
noster Feb. 8, 1744
- 34.—Obiit Rev. in Chr. pater JACOB. GORDON de
Clashtirim Episc. Nicopolit Vic. Ap. et hujus
Coll. socius Mar. 2, 1746

¹ Date by G. A. G.

² Entered in *Necrologium* under date 11th July (no year), note by G. A. G.
as above.

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35.—Obiit in hac domo ROBERTUS GRAY subdiaconus Moraviensis et Socius noster	April 21, 1758
36.—Obiit in hac domo D. JOANNES GORDON de KIRK HILL alumnus noster	May 20, —
37.—Commemoratio obitus M. WILLELMI CRANSTON viri Rectorii, et hujus Collegii quondam socii	Oct. 2, —
38.—Obiit JOH. GORDON Presb. Morav. socius noster et miss : in Scotia	Feb. 11, —
39.—D. GILBERTUS WAUCHOPE, Med : doctor: hujus Collegii convictor et Benefactor	May 15, —

APPENDIX III

THE MOUAT FAMILY

WHO was Isabel Mouat? In Father Gall's letter of 8th July, 1650, partly printed by Forbes Leith, the passage where her name occurs is written indistinctly, and it was not reproduced in *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics*, II, p. 52. She must have been well known to many Scottish people who travelled to France in the middle of the seventeenth century. In the correspondence of the Jesuit Fathers her name is frequently mentioned, but always as going to or coming from Scotland "with" somebody's son or daughter. It is probable that she was employed as escort to Catholic children going to and from the Jesuit Colleges. At the same time she acted as intelligence officer to Father Gall. Almost all the romance of her history must be left to the imagination. She may have been the wife of "Moyett," a banking agent in Paris, mentioned in Thurloe's *State Papers* (I. pp. 502-3), and in Michel's *Les Écossais en France* (Vol. II., p. 346). It is probable that this banker is the same man as "Monsieur Jaques," who paid very honestly what was due to Mrs Robertson (*vide supra*, p. 157), and that "John Mowet, son of James Mowet," at the College of Douai in 1659, who ran away from school, was his son (*Douai Diary*, p. 44).

The earliest mention of Mr Mouat which I have been able to find is in Blakhal's *Narration* :—

"I parted from Paris upon an hors which Mr Mouat hyred for me, an horse of retour, as they cal him, for fyve crownes, to make use of him fyve days. . . . I would not have plained the monyes, if the hors had been as good as he was lyk to have bein, for he was as great as a coach hors, but the most lasche jadde that ever any man crossed. For I might sooner have killed him with my spurres then made him trotte, much less gallope."

Mouat's house in Paris was the rendezvous of the Scottish exiles, a place where they came to cash their bills and to hear all the latest news. On 23rd July, 1658, Father Macbrek writes :—

"After long cherche of Mr Gauen, at last by mire chance the daye before our Tragedy going to Mr Mouets, and demanding for him, I fand him logaet in his house, and so I delayueret him your Rns. letter, and inuitet him the nixt day to the Tragedy with Mr Perpoint."

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The following extracts from a letter written from London by Mr Patrick Con to Mr William Leslie (Rome) on 24th April, 1662, show that Mouat's was used by the Catholics as a clearing-house for letters and parcels :—

"Ye could send to Mr Mouet in paris a booke called Ceremoniale romanum for the ceremonies of the church. My Lord wold glaidlie haue it for the queens chappel. . . .

"If you writ be Venise which is the neerest way disyre Mr Sainclair to giue you Mr Wrights¹ adresse & send my letters to his house; whersoever I be he will send them to me; or ells be Lyons the ordenarie way as you please to Mr Mouet."

Banking must have been a precarious enterprise in the seventeenth century. Mr Mouat's business probably consisted chiefly in lending money to impecunious Scottish exiles. He may have met with financial disaster, as I find a note by Fr. Athanasius Chambres, O.S.B.,² written in 1676, stating that "a Mr Mouat has been recommended as a lay brother by Mr Leslie, but his age and ignorance of the language make him unsuited for the life."

In September of the same year Father Athanasius writes :—

"I am glade that Mr Mouet hes found ane way of subsistence more suitable for his genius then to be ane religious man which he wald find verie hard in his old age being his lifetime accustomed to libertie and all good comodities which he will not find in religione."

Abbot Fleming wrote from Ratisbon on 15th December, 1670, that Madame Mouat was "wearing weak and infirme."

A letter from Patrick Con, 10th April, 1677, to Mr Leslie, confirms the hypothesis that Mouat had lost his money through giving too much credit to his impecunious compatriots :—

"Thers a poore man at Rome my old friend Mr Mouet, who never did hurt but to himself, you know he lived honestly manie years at Paris [hole in paper] : but ill debtors & too much trust, hes brocht him toe nothing; its a worke of great charitie to help an honest man thats in want: & I pray you let him have twentie or thirty crowns upon my account; if I was not charged myself with a gret famelie he should be troublesome to noe bodie: but you know a wyff and five yong cheldren is a gret burdene for a poore man that hes but Gods providence. . . ."

¹ This may be the Mr Wright who arranged for the release of Mr Ballantyne from prison in London, 1658.

² A Benedictine of S. Scholastica at Subiaco.

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APPENDIX IV

THE DOUGLAS REGIMENT

THE reference to the "Colonell his regiment" in the letter, dated 24th July, 1638, signed by Thomas Chambers, must be to Lord James Douglas, Colonel of the Regiment of Royal Scots Guards in France, which was known at that time as "The Douglas Regiment." This unit, originally called "Hepburn's Regiment," raised by Sir John Hepburn in 1633, had fought under Gustavus Adolphus.¹ In 1638 this was the only Scottish regiment in France, although several others were formed shortly afterwards. Lord James was killed near Douai in 1645. The Douglas regiment passed over to England in 1661, and at the Union in 1707 was incorporated with the British Army, and is now known as the Royal Scots Regiment of Foot. Father Adam Gordon, who had served with the regiment about the year 1637, wrote thirty years later (9th November, 1667) :—

"Collonel Duglas regiment is comming ouir again to the King of France his seruice. it is 1200 strong 700 wherof ar Catholics."

In a letter written by Father Richard Browne, dated 15th October, 1653, there is a short story, which I have not been able to complete, about a Colonel of this famous regiment.

"Fr. Richard Browne (Paris) to Fr. Adam Gordon (Rome) 15. Oct. 1653.

"Not long agoe Alexander Strachan Larde of Thornton and heeretofore Lieutenant Colonel in Douglas regiment, hauing drawn a little out of this towne a yeoung Aberdeyns man, called Burnet, new comme ouer, murdered him by a shott of a pistolet in the head, for to gett his monneys ; he is prisonner, and if iustice be doone to him he will be broken upon a wheele."

I find in *The Douglas Book* (IV, p. 426) that:—

"Lt. Colonel Alexander Strachan signed the agreement appointing Lord Angus, brother to Lord James, Colonel of the Regiment, in 1645."

And in Thurloe's *State Papers* (I, p. 163) there is a letter from King

¹ Sir John Hepburn, † 1636, was one of the most famous of the many Scottish soldiers who fought on the Continent of Europe in the seventeenth century. "Avoit coutume de dire le feu colonel Hebron, Écossais, qui est mort depuis maréchal-de-camp des armées du Roi au siège de Saverne : que chaque balle avoit sa commission" (*Mémoires de l'Abbé Arnauld in Collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France*, Tome XXXIV, p. 159. Ed. Petitot. Paris, 1824). At a Council of War when the famous Père Joseph was pointing out on a map the towns that were to be taken, Hepburn remarked :—"Les villes ne se prennent pas avec le bout du doigt."

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Charles II to the Committee of Estates, September, 1650, recommending Strachan for a post in the Scottish army:—

“Having assurance of the worth and abilities of the laird of Thorne-toune, wee desire that a troupe be appointed for him.”

The following particulars are given in Macfarlane's *Genealogical Collections*, S.H.S., Vol. II, p. 273:—

“Sir Alexander, second Baron of Thornton, married Margaret, a daughter of James Lord Ogilvie with whom he lived long in France where he died during the exile of King Charles II.”

He was not “broken upon a wheele,” for he died, in debt, at Bruges in 1659 (C. Rogers, *Memorials of the Families of Strachan and Wise*, p. 47, printed for private circulation, 1877).

I cannot identify the young Aberdeen man called Burnet.

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MSS. OF THOMAS INNES

“Mr Thomas Innes had laboured with diligence in this province, and his nephew Mr George Innes followed the example. Between them a satisfactory ecclesiastical history of our country from 1540 till their own times was compiled, or at any rate an abundance of authentic records for that purpose were collected and arranged. The whole, I may say, of those precious papers, together with the valuable MSS. relative to the civil history of Scotland preserved in that House [Scots College, Paris] are now miserably lost” (Paul Macpherson, *MS. History of the Scots College, Rome*).

The only trace of these collections which I can find at Blairs, consists of a few fragmentary notes in the handwriting of Canon Clapperton, copied by him, or in the first place by Bishop Kyle, from originals which have been mislaid.

The following list of secular priests, who were in Scotland between 1612 and 1637, is taken from a copy of an original note made by Thomas Innes. I have added within brackets some notes taken from other sources:—

1162.—Mr Robert Philip went to the mission.

[Robert Philip, of Sanquhar. After imprisonment in Scotland, he became an Oratorian and Chaplain to Queen Henrietta in 1625.¹ In 1650 “Her Majesty expressed a great sense of the loss she had sustained by the death of her old confessor, father Philips; who she said, ‘was a prudent and discreet man; and would never suffer her to be pressed to any passionate under-

¹ A. Perraud, *L'Oratoire de France au XVII^e et au XIX^e Siècle*, p. 57, Paris, 1865.

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takings . . . and always told her, that . . . she was to live well towards the protestants, who deserved well from her, and to whom she was beholding.'” (Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, Vol. VI, p. 481, Oxford, 1826.)

He was recommended by the Nuncio in Paris for the post of Vicar-Apostolic in Scotland. *Arch. de Prop. Fide*, Vol. 312, f. 183. He had been a student at the Scots College, Paris, and was one of the eleven who went to the Scots College, Rome, in 1602, the year of its opening. *Rome Register*, p. 101, 1906. He died in 1647 on 4th January. *Necrologium*, p. 7.]

1613.—Mr Andrew Creighton.

[He was at Douai in 1593. *Douai Diary*, p. 6.]

Mr William Thompson.

[Student in Rome in 1602. Became a Franciscan, and was a Benefactor of the Roman College. For a time Chaplain to Queen Henrietta.]

1616.—Mr James Seaton, an ancient clergy priest banished.

1619.—Mr George Aslown.

[At Douai in 1606. *Douai Diary*, p. 9. In 1628 he was in the North of England and afterwards went to Germany. *Arch. de Prop. Fide*, Vol. 102, f. 85. In Bellesheim's *History* (III, p. 408) he is mentioned as “George Ashton.”

“He was Father Benedict, and his brother Abbot John.” Canon Clapperton, *MS. Note-book*, p. 324.]

1622.—Mr Robert Creighton.

[Nephew of Mr Andrew (above), at Douai in 1608, aged 15. In Rome, 1615. Origin, Dunkeld.]

Mr Macouay.

1624.—Mr John Rollock.

Archibald Regat.

David Tyrie.

[From Brechin. *Rome Register*, 1618. He became a Franciscan.]

Mr Thomas Beattie.

[*Rome Register*, p. 105. He is described as “Nidsdaliensis.”] William Stewart.

[*Rome Register*, p. 105. “Dumblanensis.”

(Thomas Betæus et Guil. Stewart sacerdotes Scot. cum in patriam redire debeant petunt facultates et subsidium.” *Arch. de Prop. Fide*, Vol. 384, f. 27).

Gilbert Blakhal says that “Father Thomas Beattie, a very learned man,” was living in Paris with the Oratorians in 1643. *Narration*, p. 115.]

1625.—Mr Andrew Leslie.

[“Moraviensis.” Afterwards a Jesuit and Rector of Roman College. *Rome Register*, p. 106.]

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- 1626.—Mr Patrick Gordon, brother to Letterfourie.
 [From Aberdeenshire. At Rome, 1616. Went to Scots College, Paris, in 1619, and to the Scottish mission in 1626. *Rome Register*, p. 105. Died 7th July, 1653. He is described in the Paris *Necrologium* as student and Benefactor.]
 Mr Ballentine Senr.
 [Student in Rome, 1621-26. *Rome Register*, p. 106. Died 4th September, 1627, a Benefactor of the Paris College.]
- 1627.—Mr James Duncan.
 [From Moray. At Rome in 1621. Went to the mission in 1627, and later joined the Oratorians in Paris. *Rome Register*, p. 106.]
- 1629.—Mr Persons.
 [Thomas Person (*alias* Mackperson). At Rome in 1622; left in 1626. Joined the Oratorians in Paris. Was Chaplain to the Douglas Regiment. *Rome Register*, p. 106. He was in Scotland in 1632.]
- 1631.—Mr David Chalmers.
 [See Chapter V above.]
- 1632.—Mr Thomas Chalmers Senr.
 [Was a student at Braunsberg from 1619-25. *Bellesheim*, III, p. 455. At Scots College, Rome, 1629-32. Died 1661. *Necrologium*, Paris.]
- 1633.—Mr John Smith Senr.
 [From Aberdeenshire. At Roman College, 1627-33. After several years on the mission he entered the Society of Jesus. *Rome Register*, p. 108.]
- 1634.—Mr Ronald Macdonald. Clergy priest and curate in the Highlands, proposed in the Holy Congregation to be Bishop of the Isles.
 [He had been a Presbyterian minister. Was at the Irish College, Louvain, in 1627. *Arch. Prop. Fide*, Vol. 129, f. 162.]
- 1637.—Mr Gilbert Blakhall.
 [Student in Rome, 1626-30. *Rome Register*, p. 108. Died 1st July 1671.]
 Mr John Riddoch.
 [“Rev. John Riddoch came to the mission before the end of December 1637, apparently in company of Abbé Chambers, the French Political Agent with the Covenanters. What became of Riddoch? General Gordon mentions him as ‘Father Riddoch’ living in Brauensberg, along with a Father Smith, in May 1693. Cf. General Patrick Gordon, of Auchleuchries, *Tagebuch*. Canon Clapperton’s *Note-book*, p. 324.”]
 Mr Thomas Chambers Junr.
 [Student in Rome, 1630-37. *Rome Register*, p. 109.]
 Mr James Ramsay.
 [Died 6th July, 1683. Student and Benefactor of Paris College. *Necrologium*.]

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APPENDIX VI

RICHELIEU AND THE COVENANTERS

Letter from Cardinal de Richelieu to M. le Comte d'Estrades.

"de Ruel

"le 2 Décembre

"1637.

"Monsieur, J'ay receu vostre dépesche du 24 du mois passé ; J'ay rendu compte au roy de tout ce que vous me mandés. Il a esté fort satisfait de vostre conduite dans les deux conversations que vous avés eues avec le roy et la reine d'Angleterre. Il estoit à propos et avantageux pour le service du roy de descouvrir leurs sentiments. Ils nous eussent fort embarrassés s'ils avoient eu l'adresse de les déguiser. Je profiteray de l'avis que vous me donnés pour l'Escosse, et feray partir dans peu de jours l'abbé Chambre, mon aumosnier, qui est Escossois de nation, pour aller à Édimbourg attendre les deux personnes que vous me rommés, pour lier quelque négociation avec eux.¹

"L'année ne se passera pas que le roy et la reine d'Angleterre ne se repentent d'avoir refusé les offres que vous leur avés faictes de la part du roy."

"Vous avés sy bien agi dans vostre employ que le roy vous a choisi pour aller trouver Mr le prince d'Orange, et conclure avec luy le traité de campagne. Mr de Chavigny vous en envoie le pouvoir par ce courier. Il faut faire tout vostre possible pour porter le prince d'Orange à attaquer Anvers, et luy promettre que le roy attaquera Saint-Omer. Si Dieu bénit nos desseins, le roy n'aura pas sujet de regretter le refus qu'on a fait en Angleterre de ses offres. Vous ne pouviés mieux parler, ny mieux respondre au roy d'Angleterre sur mon sujet. On cognoistra bientost qu'on ne me doit pas mespriser. Si vos deux amis d'Escosse sont encore a Londres, dites leur qu'ils prennent confiance en ce que l'abbé Chambre leur dira, et leur donnés une lettre pour rendre de vostre part au dict abbé, afin qu'il les cognoisse par ce signal. Vous avés rendu un grand service au roy d'avoir descouvert ces deux hommes. Assurés-les de mon affection et de ma protection.

"Prenés congé du roy d'Angleterre aussi tost que vous aurés receu cette dépesche, et partés pour Hollande. Mr de Bullion m'a asseuré qu'il vous envoyoit une lettre de change de six mille escus pour vostre voyage ; soyés persuadé de l'estime et de l'amitié que j'ay pour vous."

Avenel, *Lettres, Instructions Diplomatiques et Papiers d'État du Cardinal Richelieu*, tome V, pp. 895-7, Paris, 1863.

¹ Le Comte d'Estrades avait écrit, dans sa lettre du 24 novembre : "J'ay eu deux conversations de plus de trois heures avec un ministre d'Escosse appelé Mobil, et un seigneur nommé Gourdon ; le ministre, qui est un esprit plein de feu et violent, m'a dit qu'il estoit à Londres depuis trois semaines sans avoir pû avoir audience du roy, quoiqu'il soit venu pour luy donner des avis très-importans et lui descouvrir des cabales qui se font contre sa personne et son service ; qu'il est sur le point de s'en retourner, et qu'il est asseuré que l'Escosse s'accommodera avec les mécontents d'Angleterre. Gourdon, qui est député de la noblesse, ne m'en a dit pas moins."

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Ranke was of opinion that this letter of Richelieu to Estrades is not genuine,¹ a view adopted by nearly all subsequent historians.

S. R. Gardiner was quite convinced that Richelieu was not stirring up rebellion in Scotland (*History of England*, VIII, p. 382).

Mr Alexander Robertson, in his *Life of Sir Robert Moray* (London, 1922), stated that "it is impossible to believe in the authenticity of the correspondence between Richelieu and Estrades" (p. 5).

The dossier of Thomas Chambers seems to show that part of the correspondence is probably authentic.

After stating that the letter of 2nd December, 1637, in which Richelieu promised to send his almoner to Scotland, ought not to be regarded as genuine, Ranke continued :—

"A few weeks before, September 8th 1637, another Chambres, who also had a place in the Cardinals household, had gone to England and Scotland in order to conduct a levy of Scottish troops" (V, p. 460).

There is no need to create "another Chambres" in the Cardinal's household. The object of sending a messenger to Scotland on this occasion, the real object, was to obtain recruits for "Hebron's Regiment," or to form other Scottish regiments in France. This messenger carried a letter, headed :—

"Instruction au Sieur Deschambres s'en allant en Angleterre et Escosse."

The last paragraph of this letter reads as follows:—

"Le dict Sr Deschambres communiquera tout le sujet de son voyage au Sr Cosner son oncle, et s'y conduira par ses bons avis. . . ."

In Volume VIII of the *Letters of Cardinal Richelieu*, M. Avenel published some extracts from letters he had found in the Archives des Affaires Étrangères; among these are some notes from Lord Leicester, Ambassador in France, wherein is mentioned :—

"Un nommé Chambers, Escossois, ausmonier du Cardinal de Richelieu, neveu de M. Conneo."

Although it is known (from a letter in *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*, 1640, pp. 100-1) that Thomas Chambers had a brother who was a "captain"² . . . and a moderate and well disposed gentleman," there is no reason to suppose that this brother had anything to do with Richelieu.

"Le dict Sr Deschambres" and "un nommé Chambers" are almost certainly the same man.

Thomas Chambers had left the Scots College, Rome, at some date not known exactly, but early in 1637; in March of that year he continued "still in hope to become greit"; it is improbable that in September he had already been appointed almoner to the Cardinal.

It is far more likely that he was given that post as a reward for service

¹ *History of England*, V, p. 460.

² Alexander Chalmers, Captain of Cavalry in the Scots Legion, † 12th August 1645 (Strachan, *Album Amicorum*).

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rendered during his journey to Scotland as the "Sieur Deschambres." On such a journey he would be obliged to travel disguised as a layman ; it would be different the next time if he went under the protection of Richelieu.

Three months, not merely a few weeks, separate the messenger of the 8th September from the famous letter to Estrades, dated 2nd December. In those three months Thomas Chambers would have had time to go to Scotland, deliver his message, and report to the Cardinal. Although this first journey was genuinely made for the purpose of recruiting soldiers, it may also have been regarded by Richelieu as a test of his messenger, who may have been told to keep his eyes open. In the letter of 2nd December, Richelieu introduces Chambers as "my almoner" ; thereby showing that the appointment was so recent that it would not be known to his correspondents in London.

In July, 1638, Thomas Chambers wrote to his cousin at the Scots College that he was afraid lest he might have to "mak the longer voiage which I shall shift the fairest way I may." It is surely reasonable to read here between the lines that he had already been to Scotland on the secret service of the Cardinal, and was reluctant to repeat the risky and distasteful business. Ranke's theory of two men in the Cardinal's household, both called Chambers, is improbable, and is not supported by any evidence. There can be scarcely any doubt that Thomas Chambers went once to Scotland in 1637 ; it is probable that he went twice, and that the letter written by Richelieu to Estrades on the 2nd December is genuine.

The following note is given by M. Avenel in the volume of corrections and additions to the *Letters of Cardinal de Richelieu*, tome VIII, pp. 135-6 :—

" . . . nous avons trouvé, aux Archives des Affaires étrangères, quelques nouveaux indices de la participation de Richelieu aux troubles d'Écosse ; ils ajoutent aux renseignements contenus dans cette note des détails qu'il convient de faire connaître. Outre qu'ils nous donnent la preuve de l'envoi en Écosse de Chambers, cet aumônier de Richelieu que les lettres du Cardinal nomment l'abbé Chambre, ils nous apprennent que cette intrigue politique se continua dans les années suivantes ; que le gouvernement anglais n'avait pas ignoré le voyage du dudit abbé et qu'il en soupçonnait le motif réel. 'Nostre affaire d'Escosse va fort mal (écrivait le 1er juillet 1638, le ministre anglais Windebank au comte de Leycester, ambassadeur en France), mais vous ferez bien de le dissimuler par delà, et de vous informer soigneusement comment la faction est fomentée tant par delà que par deçà ; car de ce dernier vous en pouvez plus sçavoir de delà que nous icy.' A quoi Leycester répondait, le II du même mois : 'Je suis aussy ignorant de l'affaire d'Escosse que si je demeuroid en Tartarie ; si elle est fomentée de la France, ce sera par des voies si secrètes, qu'on ne le descouvrira que par les effets ; et, selon toute apparence, un des instruments dont on se servira le plustost est un nommé Chambers, Escossois, aumosnier du cardinal de Richelieu, neveu de M. Conneo, avec lequel il entretient une grande correspondance.' Le 16, Leycester ajoutait : 'Je me trouve plus confirmé que je n'estois touchant Chambers.' Windebank, à son tour, répondait le 22 : 'Je ne

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manquerez pas d'avoir l'œil sur Conneó et la cabale.' A trois mois de là, le 30 septembre, il écrivait encore a Leycester : ' Vous ferez un grand service au roy d'empescher tant que vous pourrez qu'on porte des munitions de France en Escosse ; car il ne tiendra pas à 46 (le cardinal) qu'on n'y en envoie, principalement s'il se voit les coudées plus franches.' Le 4 octobre, un autre ministre anglais, Cooke, appelait encore l'attention de l'ambassadeur sur les manœuvres du cardinal : ' Je ne doute pas, lui disait-il, que vous n'apportiez tous soins et diligences à descouvrir tout ce qui regardera les affaires d'Escosse. Il a toutefois esté dit icy, par personnes bien sensées, qui disent l'avoir receu de bonne part de delà, que le cardinal de Richelieu a advoué ouvertement qu'il ne sçavoit pas pourquoi cet estat-là n'assistera pas aussy bien les Escossois comme le roy a assisté leurs ennemies a Saint-Omer.' Et Leycester à Cooke le 8 octobre : ' J'ay fait et feray toute diligence pour descouvrir si on a porté des munitions d'icy en Escosse, mais je ne croy pas qu'on l'ait fait, non qu'ils manquent de volonté pour cela, mais parce qu'ils le peuvent mieux faire, et à meilleur marché, de Hollande, outre qu'ils en ont assez à faire icy. Toutefois on dit qu'on a arresté deux navires à Douvres, venant de France et allant en Escosse, chargés de munitions ; mais vous le savez mieux par delà.' Ainsi il resulte, des divers témoignages que nous avons recueillis et rapprochés, que la mission de d'Estrades en Angleterre, en 1637, est parfaitement authentique, que les menaces contenues dans la remarquable lettre du 2 décembre sont très réelles, qu'il est fort vraisemblable que Richelieu a cherché les moyens de les mettre à exécution, enfin qu'il n'est pas douteux que les Anglais, en ayant été informés, avaient l'œil ouvert sur les manœuvres hostiles du ministre de Louis XIII, au moment même où la paix se négotiait (à la vérité, sans beaucoup d'espoir) entre les deux royaumes.

" Nous trouvons encore, en 1639, l'abbé Chambres voyageant entre Londres et Paris, éveillant toujours les soupçons et les inquiétudes des Anglais. L'Ambassadeur de France, Bellièvre, qui ne parait pas avoir été dans le secret, écrivait à Chavigni le 24 mars : ' L'arrivée de M. Chambres fera soubçonner icy toutes choses contraires à vos intentions. L'on s'imaginera, en conséquence de tous les bruits que l'on a fait courir et des opinions que l'on a eues, qu'il vient pour fomentier la guerre d'Écosse ; non seulement le peuple, mais aussy beaucoup de personnes de qualité ont pris telle jalousie de nous que tout leur donne du soubçon ' (f. 415). L'abbé Chambres ne retourna à Paris qu'après plus de deux mois. M. de Bellièvre mande à de Noyers son départ de Londres le 2 juin (f. 494)."

From these extracts it is certain, with such certainty as can be obtained from indirect evidence, that the Sieur Deschambres who was sent to Scotland in September, 1637, with instructions to communicate " tout le sujet de son voyage au Sr Cosner son oncle," must be the Thomas Chambers, the almoner of Richelieu, nephew of S. Conneó, with whom he was conducting " une grande correspondance " in 1638.

The letters of Richelieu to the Comte d'Estrades are genuine, and there seems to be no doubt that the Cardinal, as early as 1637, had encouraged with promises of assistance the disloyalty and the discontent of the Scottish Covenanters.

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APPENDIX VII

PLIGHT OF CATHOLICS IN SCOTLAND

(Archives of the Congregation of Propaganda. Scrittura riferite,
Vol. 312, fol. 198-198 v.)

The following account of the persecution of Catholics in Scotland was sent (in Italian) to the Congregation of Propaganda, probably in the year 1651, either by Mr William Ballantyne or by Mr John Walker:—

“The persecution which is at present directed against Catholics in Scotland is sufficiently notorious, and nothing more need be said about it in this report save that never yet has the Church of God sustained a more calculated or a more bitter attack. These unfortunate Catholics have been stripped of everything they had ; women in labour, young children and the sick flung out on to the road, and their nearest relatives forbidden to offer them as much as a cup of water under threat of like treatment to themselves. Men and women are cast into prisons where they die of hunger, or are exiled and reduced to beggary. They are spared a violent death, partly out of studied policy, their persecutors not caring to appear tyrannical, and partly out of a malignant desire that those innocent people should live to endure a thousand sufferings daily in the realization of the extreme misery to which their wives and children are reduced rather than suffer a speedy death.

“So rigorous is this persecution that it has involved the highest personages in the land, seven or eight of whom have been obliged to seek refuge in England. This the heretics regard as the surest means to a complete extirpation of the Catholic Faith, for in the absence of the nobles under whose protection the priests can make some progress, so that religion is maintained and increases, the common people lose heart and make shipwreck of their Faith, or they are spoiled of their goods, exiled and impoverished.

“To add to their misery these Catholics find themselves deprived of every human aid or comfort, since in all the land there is not to be found an ecclesiastic of sufficient rank and standing to encourage the gentry and foster among them that spirit of mutual co-operation which their circumstances call for. Moreover, of the few priests they have, some through their imprudence and evil example do more harm than good, all the more since the members of the religious orders are at variance among themselves, seeking rather their own selfish interests than the good of souls.

“The constancy which under these circumstances the Catholics, and especially those of the upper classes, so conspicuously show can only be ascribed to Divine Grace unaided by any human influence.

“To meet this unfortunate condition of affairs in Scotland Catholics of the better class desire to press the Holy See less for monetary aid than for the appointment of a person of standing and authority, for a Bishop in fact, a good and a prudent man, and a business man with a thorough

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knowledge of the country, and able to win the confidence and support of the nobility. Such a person would, through time, be able to devise many legitimate measures to counteract the hatred of the sectaries, to control and pacify the clergy, promote good relationships among the nobles, and finally advise the Holy See as occasion might require.

“As to the fears of some on the score of opposition by the King and the heretics to the appointment of a Bishop, it should be remembered that not even Hell itself could have done more to bring about the extirpation of the Faith than these are now doing. At the present moment there is, humanly speaking, no means of preserving a spark of it other than by the appointment of a Bishop. Had there been one before the present persecution began things would not be now as they are. If such an appointment be deferred there is every reason to fear that in all Scotland not a vestige will remain of that Catholic Faith to which for 1430 years the country consistently held until the intrusion of Calvinism.”

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SCOTTISH CATHOLICS IN 1654

The following list of Scottish Catholics, dated 1654 (in marginal note at foot of folio 333), is preserved in the Archives of the Congregation of Propaganda (*Scrittura riferite*, Vol. 297, fol. 333-37). There is no direct evidence as to whether the list was drawn up by a Regular or a Secular. The introductory paragraph states that the writer had constructed his report after leaving Scotland and proposed on his return to send further information. Father James Macbrek, the only Jesuit who left Scotland in 1654, had been exiled and could therefore have scarcely spoken about returning shortly to that country. The use of the phrase: “*non solum Nos sed etiam alii Missionarii*,” indicates that the writer was a Jesuit.

f. 333 r.

é duplicata lib. 1655. cav. 528.

Illmus Dnus Nuncius mihi retulit non abs re esse singulorum Catholicorum nomina ad Sac. Congregationem referre, ut ita magis liquide constaret quem progressum non solum Nos, sed etiam alii Missionarii quotannis in istis partibus facerent; si ante discessum meum a Scotia hæc ejus voluntas super hac re nota fuisset, facillimum mihi fuisset perstittisse, nam a singulis Missionariis rationem exigissem de omnibus quæ in illis Provinciis sunt apud quos peregrinamur; tamen quoad possum singularum familiarum nomina quæ et mihi magis cognita, ac melioris conditionis sunt, breviter referam, cum autem rediero, quæ nunc nomina deerunt, referam.

In Martiæ Provincia.

Jacobus Douglasius Dominus de Morington [Mordingtoun] frater Marchionis de Douglas cum filiis et filiabus.

Alexander Dourame cum sua familia.

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Guilhelmus Durame.
Georgius Dickson de Beruick.

In Nidisdalie et Galloutie Provinciis.

Comes Nidisdalie.
Cometissa Nidisdalie, ejus Comitissæ mater, neptis Ducis Buckinghamiæ.
Dominus de Herres.
Baro de Cornehaith.
Scotia 1654 [marginal note].

f. 333 v.

Baro de Acknescaick.
Vidua de Carco.

Sunt et alii in his Provinciis nomine Binne, et Makuall [Maxwell],
quorum nomina non occurrunt, præter multitudinem satis copiosam
plebis.

In Cludisdalie Provincia.

Marchio de Douglas cum sua familia.
Comes de Abercorne.
Guilhelmus Hamiltone Eques auratus.
Alexander Hamiltone, Eques auratus, ejusdem Comitissæ fratres.
Domina Lucia Hamiltone ejusdem Comitissæ soror.
Dominus Simpelius ejusdem Comitissæ Avus
Doctor Baylie Juris Consultus.
Joannes Chritunius qui fuit unus ex celeberrimis Ministris, nunc vero
Artem medicam exercet.

In Lathonie Provincia ex civitate. . . .

Comitissa de Vatntone [Winton] vidua cum integra familia.
Domina de Sm-lte vidua.
Comes de Vrentone [Winton] qui adhuc est sub Tutoribus, sed simul
cum fratribus in Relig. Catholica educatus.
Joannes Seatonius de Barne, eques auratus [Sir John Seaton, of Barnes,
in East Lothian].
Alexander Seatonius Dominus de Kingston frater Comitissæ de Vatntone.
Henricus Brusius eques auratus.

f. 334 r.

Jacobus Hamaltone de Priestfiel, Eques auratus.
Jacobus Hamilton de Readholl eques auratus.
Comitissa de Lithgo vidua soror Marchionis de Douglas.
Jacobus Ingles Juris consultus.
Joannes Papius Juris consultus cum familia.
Henricus Stuartus Juris consultus cum familia.
Colonellus Vachob de Nithrie [Wauchop of Niddrie] cum familia.
Joannes Dugall Mercator.
Guilhelmus Simpelius Mercator.
Domina Magdugall vidua.
Catharina Riddoch vidua.
Hellena Cockburne, ejus maritus hæreticus.
Lucia Cockburne ejusdem soror.

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Guilhelmus Handarsone cum uxore.
 Andreas Hay.
 Jacobus Metlant Tutor Comitum de Vintone.
 Jacobus Jhonstonius cum uxore.
 Patricius Dicksonius.
 Jacobus Fifa.
 Guilhelmus Wood.
 Alexander Gray, frater Domini de Gray.
 David Mitchell.
 Joannes Hall.
 Jacobus Barklay.
 Jolieneta Hamaltone.
 Joannes Tuiddie.

334 v.

Isabella Vachab [Wauchope] soror Domini de Niethrie [Niddrie], ejus
 maritus est hæreticus.
 Alexander Stuartus medicus.
 Thomas Ebercromy.
 Sunt in hac Provincia quamplurimi utriusque sexus, qui sunt bonæ
 voluntatis, et nobis ualde favent, et in eorum tectis nos humaniter
 recipiunt, quorum magna spes est.

In Angusiæ Provincia.

Alexander Irvin de Kalty [Belty], filius Baronis de Drume cum familia.
 Jacobus Ogilbeus de Newigrange eques auratus.
 Patricius Gray Baro de Krinell [Kinnell] cum filiis filiabus et uxore.
 Georgius Seatonius de Veodhil cum familia.
 Alexander Godonius de Cancathrome cum familia.
 Gilbertus Ogilbeus de Graij cum familia.
 Joannes Ogilbeus de Mourtone.
 Joannes Ogilbeus de Klintla [Clintlaw].

In Marniæ Provincia.

Gilbertus Minazaus [Menzies] Baro de Pitfodels eques auratus, cum
 ampla sua familia.
 Thomas Collisone de Achluna [Auchlunies].

In Provincia Marne de civitate Aberdonensi.

Alexander Irvinus Baro de Drume eques auratus cum integra sua
 familia.

335 r.

Thomas Minateus de Bagauin [Menzies of Balgowny].
 Franciscus Irvinus de Hiltone.
 Robertus Irvinus de Hamilæ.
 Guilhelmus Lumsdonius de Crombe Juris consultus cum familia.
 Paulus Colinsonius Mercator cum familia.
 Jacobus Ferchar [Farquhar].
 Normandus Davidstone Mercator.

THE BLAIRS PAPERS

Jacobus Robordsone Mercator cum familia.
Guilhelmus Robordsone cum familia.
Magarita Pairdone vidua.
Jacobus Laislaus Medicus.
Johanna King vidua.
Helena Andorsone vidua.
Elisabetha Leits cum sorore.
Alexander Irvinus de Lairnie.
Alexander Albercromie de Felternier [Fetterneir] cum familia.
Thomas Abercromie de Kothuil [Cothal] cum familia.
Alexander Laislaus de Varlaus [Tullaus] frater Comitis Leslie apud
Imperatorem.
Jacobus Seatonius de Cotlechil.
Anna Gordon vidua de Faternier mater Domini Faternier nunc
viventis.
Jacobus Abercromie alter ejusdem filius.
Guilhelmus Frissall de Craiget.
Jacobus Innes de Drumgask cum familia.
Anna Gordone de Tiscodil, ejus maritus est bonæ voluntatis cujus
conversio breui speratur.

335 v.

Alexander Gordon de Cordagie.
Georgius Glennie de Bellimore.
Margarita Farcharsene de Bellimore.
Alexander Gordon de Canackail [Kandychyle] cum familia.
Joannes Rosse cum familia ibidem.
Georgius Turner.
Guilhelmus Corsbie.
Alexander Farcharsone.
Guilhelmus Davidsons.
Thomas Minazeus cum familia
Joannes Gordonius in Territorio de Cromair.

In Provincia Pairthæ.

Comes de Kirnoul [Kinnoul].
Jacobus Krem de Lairnie.

In Buchaniæ Provincia.

Domina de Dalkatli vidua cum familia [Dalgetty].
Georgius Hay de Kirnimont [Kinnimonth].
Patricius Grand de Hilton cum familia.
Jacobus Coneus de Knakiemill.
Alexander Seaton de Torton.
Susanna Hetlie de Craitam.
H. Fertesius [Forbes] de Blacktoun.
Adamus Gerton [Gordon] de Arlop [Artlach].
Guilhelmus Frissall de Achmaiddam [Ardmeddan].
Sunt in hac Prov. uti etiam in altera nonnullæ aliæ familiæ quorum
nomina non occurrunt, ex plebe vero quamplurimi.

APPENDIX

336.

In Provincia Bamfiæ.

Marchionissa de Huntlay cum copiosa familia.

Vicecomes de Frandret [Frendraught].

Dominus de Oluane.

Carolus Gordonius frater Marchionis de Huntlay, nunc mortuo frater.
ipse Marchio.

Alexander Gordonius de Cairnbouuon [Cairnburrow].

Thomas Gordon de Claistrime cum familia [Clastirem].

Joannes Gordon de Fornagdi.

Joannes Gordon de Collie.

Jacobus Gordon de Cafurack.

Joannes Gordon de Achnbrigge.

Anna Abercromy de Pittare.

Anna Gordon de Fleiy cujus maritus est bonæ voluntatis, et quem
spero nunc esse Catholicum.

Margarita Inniesia Domina de Rothernay [Rothiemay].

Elisabetha Gordon Domina de Kinnerdie mater Vicecomitis.

Robertus de Cormelet.

Adamus Gordon de Ackanacky [Achindachy].

Joannes Gordon de Trugsmill.

Jacobus Gordon frater Baronis de Achnitonis.

Georgius Gordon de Keithmore.

Maria Gordon de Sindbour.

Patricius Gordon de Tameton.

Adamus Gordon de Suelton.

Joannes Gordon de Gray.

f. 336 v.

Arthurus Dumkan.

Robertus Rind.

Joannes Mackum.

In his territoriis sunt quamplurimi ex plebe Catholici.

In Provincia Moraviæ.

Alexander Lesseus de Conrack.

Patricius Gordon de Kinirphay.

Guilhelmus Gordon de Minemour.

Alexander Gordon de Baltalach.

Domina Baronissa de Grand, filia Comitis Moraviæ.

Domina de Cutets.

Guilhelmus Gordon de Dinckinties [Dunkinty].

Margarita Hamilton.

Sunt et quamplures alii nominis Grand iuxta fluvium Spei, quorum
nomina non occurrunt.

In Atholiæ Provincia.

Joannes Drumont Baro de Ballai cum familia, nec plures alii speciatim
mihi occurrunt, compertum tamen habeo esse quamplurimis nominis
Stuart, et Robertson, qui illis in partibus fidem Catholicam pro-
fitentur.

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Apud Montanos et Insulas.

Dominus de Klaingen.

Dominus de Glenranauld.

Domina de Garloch.

f. 337.

Proxima æstate elapsa ex literis Dni de Grin [?], Sacerdotis Hybernici certior factus sum, se plurimam Turbam in Insulis Occidentalibus partim baptizasse. Partim in gremium Ecclesiæ recepisse, quorum tamen nomina non recenset, sed hæc omnia post reditum vere sicut sunt Sacræ Congregationi referam. S.

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